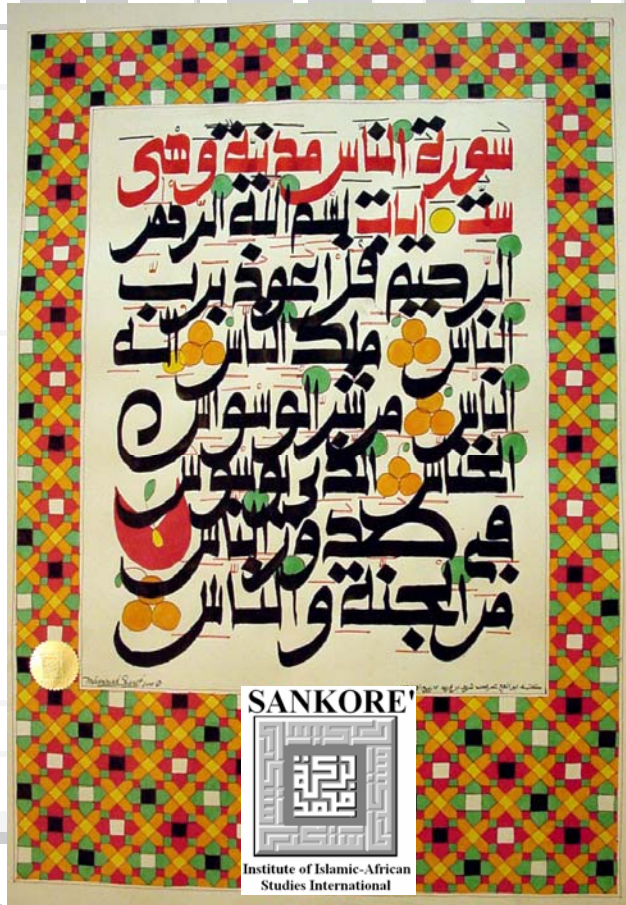


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Institute of Islamic - African Studies International

Zaman 'n-Nasaara'



'The Hour of the Christians'
African Muslim Resistance to European Colonialism

by
Abu Alfa Umar MUHAMMAD SHAREEF bin Farid

SANKORE'



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Zaman 'n-Nasaara

'The Hour of the Christians'

African Muslim Resistance to European Colonialism

by

Muhammad Shareef

Appendix

ar-Risaalat wa'n-Naseehat

Translation of the Judicial Policy of the Sokoto *Caliphate* Against European
Imperialism Until the End of Time

by

al-Qadi Modibo Abdullahi Bellel

Institute of Islamic-African
Studies International

'Zaman'n-Nasaara'

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All art work designed by Muhammad Shareef

The cover is an original calligraphy done in the hand of the classical *Barnawi-Ifriqiya* script that is prevalent in central *Bilad 'l-Sudan*. This style of Sudanic calligraphy is the style used for official *Qur'ans*. The original is 3 feet by 4.5 feet.

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بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَى سَيِّدِنَا مُحَمَّدٍ وَعَلَى آلِهِ وَصَحْبِهِ وَسَلَّمَ تَسْلِيمًا

Preface

On March 15, 1903 the armies of the Sokoto *Caliphate* were defeated at the hands of the British Imperialists. The *Caliph* (or ruler) of the Sokoto *Caliphate* at that time was Muhammad Attahiru, the twelfth ruler after *Shehu* Uthman Dan Fuduye'. After the 'defeat', Attahiru led a mass exodus (*hijra*) of his loyal supporters and officials on the famous '*hijra* to the east', which had been foretold a century earlier by the founder of the Sokoto *Caliphate*, *Shehu* Uthman Dan Fuduye'. This large movement of Muslims from Hausaland, Segu, Massina and Adamawa journeyed east until they arrived at a military garrison called Burmi on the far-eastern border of the Empire. There, Attahiru and his *jama`at* (community), along with a host of other confederated communities, put up a valiant fight against the British before he and many of his supporters were martyred on July 27, 1903. Prior to his slaying, he appointed Muhammad Bello Mai Wurno as *Caliph* to lead the mass *hijra* to the banks of the Blue Nile as foretold by their grandfather, Uthman Dan Fuduye'.

The legal motives behind the *hijra* of Attahiru is masked in controversy and ambiguity, due to the fact that scholars, both Nigerian and British who were contemporary with the period in question, maintained that the *Caliph* Attahiru fled his responsibilities as leader of the Empire and failed to generate any clear policy regarding the British invasion. These erroneous opinions were the basis used by Gen. Lugard in appointing his new Sultan of Sokoto, Muhammad ibn Ali, on March 21, 1903. This image of political irresponsibility on the part of Attahiru has continued to be echoed by many historians since that time, until a very controversial Arabic manuscript was discovered in 1986 in the town of Maiurno, Sudan on the Blue Nile.

It was during *Ramadhan*, during my usual spiritual excursion to Maiurno that I discovered this rare manuscript. It was in the home of *Shaykh* Bello Abd'r-Raaziq, the grandson of the famous *Shaykh* Abd'l-Qadir ibn al-Mustafa (Dan Tafa) and the great grand son of *Shehu* Uthman Dan Fuduye'. His father Abd'r-Raaziq made the *hijra* with Muhammad Bello Mai Wurno to the banks of the Blue Nile in 1906 and was appointed as the *Imam* of the chief mosque in the town of Maiurno. *Shaykh* Bello asked me to archive his Arabic and *ajami* manuscripts because he could not read them due to his failing eyesight. *Shaykh* Bello possessed about three hundred manuscripts, most which were in excellent condition. There were books written by *Shaykh* Bello's immediate family, books by *Shehu* Uthman Dan Fuduye', *Shaykh* Abdullahi Dan Fuduye', *Sultan* Muhammad Bello, Nana Asma'u bint *Shehu* Uthman Dan Fuduye' and many others. The books covered a range of Islamic sciences, from jurisprudence, theology and history to medicine, grammar, astronomy and morphology. Most if not all the books had an

identifiable author, and I was able to catalogue them based upon this. I photographed these manuscripts and made them apart of the permanent digital archive of the Sankore Institute.

However, I came across one manuscript, which had no known author. As I began to read the text, I realized that the text dealt with the events that occurred in 1901 through 1903, during the invasion of northern Nigeria by the British. Prior to this, I had read everything written in English about the British invasion of the Sokoto *Caliphate*, however, I had never seen any reference to this document. At first I thought it was composed by the *Caliph* Muhammad Attahiru himself, as there was no name signed to the text. I asked *Shaykh* Bello if I could borrow the text in order to show it to an academic native of Maiurno, Alamin Abu Manga. He was a professor of African languages at the University of Khartoum. Professor Abu Manga, also realized that this text was a rare find because it challenged the prevailing views regarding events that took place during the invasion of the British. Abu Manga subsequently published an article in Arabic on the manuscript in October of 1987 in a journal called *Dirasaat Ifriqiya*. In October of 1988 Obinna Anyadike published an article in English in *West Africa* magazine entitled: *Second-Class Settlers*, which dealt with the historical background and social standing of Nigerian settlers in Sudan. In this article Anyadike discusses the controversy that the manuscript is causing in academic circles around the world, because it challenged well established dissertations on the subject. In the following year Dr. Abdallah Abd'l-Majid Ibrahim published his controversial work called *al-Gharaabat* (The Westerners) in Arabic, which covered the social groups, which emigrated from western Africa into Sudan and how they eventually integrated into Sudanese society. In this work, Dr. Ibrahim dedicated an entire chapter to the implications of this rare manuscript. Prof. Abu Manga, Anyadike and Dr. Ibrahim gave me credit for recovering this manuscript, which has been used since that time to re-write the history of Northern Nigeria and the entire region especially during the years of the British invasion.

From the time I uncovered this manuscript, we found that it was written by, the then chief judge of Adamawa, *Qadi* Modibo Abdullahi Bellel. This document has shed much light upon the many obscure events during the 1903 British invasion of the Sokoto *Caliphate*. Among these obscurities is the question of the legitimacy of the Sultanate of Sokoto. The document also calls to account many of the 'unintentional' historical fallacies spread by historians who did not have access to this controversial letter. The document is the first official legal decision (*fatwa*) dealing directly with the legal ruling regarding European colonialism. The author, *Shaykh* Modi Abdu, outlined three distinct responses to European colonialism, that I would not really call 'responses', but were vital actions, or primal measures ordained by the Divine Law. These three religiously predetermined measures: *Jihad* (military struggle) – *Sulhi* (truce) – *Hijra* (emigration); remain the only legal responses that Muslims can take under aggression or colonization. Mudi Abdu's 'Letter' laid out the perpetual relationship between Muslims and non-Muslim aggressors until the End of Time.

It wasn't until 1993, that I had the chance to publish my own ideas on this manuscript, under the title: *Zaman 'n-Nasaara* –The Hour of the Christians. Since that time I have made some revision of my earlier work. The attached document is the resultant research. The *Zaman 'n-Nasaara* discusses the invasion of the Sokoto *Caliphate* by the British and the legal responses that the leaders of Sokoto resorted to as a means of

maintaining their self-determination. The fact that the letter was composed by one of the members of the judiciary of the *Caliphate* sheds light upon the pivotal role of the *qudaa* (judiciary) in Islamic government. This study will reveal that: [1] the Risaala of Modibbo Abdullahi (Mudi Abdu) embodied the fundamental policy of the Sokoto *Caliphate* against British imperialism. [2] The Risaala embraced and complimented the idea of the '*Hour of the Christians*' as foretold by the founder of the *Caliphate*, *Shehu* Uthman Dan Fuduye'. [3] The concept of the 'hour of the Christians' was a persistent idea that was consciously transmitted through the long history of the *Caliphate* as a vitalizing and mobilizing force against disintegration, especially during the rule of Attahiru I. And [4] the ideas of the Risaala embodied the fundamental response to the '*Hour of the Christians*' and posits the concept of perpetual *hijra* and *jihad*, the two main supports in the founding of the Sokoto *Caliphate* in 1803 by *Shehu* Uthman Dan Fuduye'.

The implications of this study are extremely pertinent because of the renewed colonial and imperialistic aims of America and her allies against Muslim societies everywhere. This study challenges the erroneous opinions that some '*Imams*' have taken regarding the right of Muslims to reside under the jurisdiction of the disbelievers, participate in the party politics of the disbelievers as well as joining the armies of disbelievers in the raiding and destruction Muslim lands. This study uncovers the deception of many Muslim leaders today, who claim that *Jihad* is not perpetual and that war and its preparation has ended. The 'Letter of Advice' of *Alkali* Modi Abdu speaks out to us from the past, as a warning to those Muslim leaders who for their own personal reasons have led the young Muslims into collaboration with and capitulation to Neo-Roman hegemony; but it also offers the Good News to the Believers who may be confused about what to do in this age of Neo Pax Romania. The three primordial measures outlined in this study by one of Islamic Africa's renowned judicial experts is the key to this modern problem, defined in his words as the *Ahl 'r-Ruum* (the Romans!). This study of Islamic anti-European colonial doctrine is a reminder of that time honored prophetic tradition: "The severest of people against you will be the Romans. But you will eventually defeat them with the appearance of the Hour." Our scholars have agreed that this prophet tradition is pronouncement of the unseen events of the future and is one of the proofs of the veracity of the messenger-ship of Muhammad, may Allah bless him and grant him peace. It informs us of the eventual conquering and humiliation of the Muslims worldwide by the Romans; and the inevitable victory that the Muslims will have over them at the commencement of the Hour. This study amplifies the meaning of this prophetic tradition and shows its relevance for today.

Many of our leaders, due to the love for this world's life and the comforts that the disbelievers have granted them have forgotten, or have pretended to forget the implications of the above prophetic tradition. While some of our leaders, like Paul of Tarsus, have intentionally infiltrated our finest institutions and have set about the 'hellenization' or 'americanization' of our Sacred Traditions. This study of the African Muslim resistance to European imperialism is a reminder to them of that prophetic tradition related by Jubayr who said: "I heard the Messenger of Allah, may Allah bless him and grant him peace say: You will make truce with the Romans with an armistice of trust. You will then make war, but they will be the enemies at your back." Al-Qaida and their allies among the terrorists (the Neo-Zealots) know this too well, because they collaborated and made a truce with the Romans in Afghanistan against the Soviet Union

and did not realize that while they were making war, that their real enemy were behind them, the ones from whom they had received training and supplies!

In ancient times the Romans were dedicated to the disruption and altering of the life-transaction of the Prophetic communities of that time, the Banu Isra'il. The conflict centered around the Temple of Jerusalem, the spiritual center for the prophetic community. The Romans set up in the Temple an image of the 'god' Ceasar. The Romans' aim was to 'hellenize' this religious community and to convert them over to a form of religious expression that would allow them to accept their place as Roman citizens and allow the market demands of Pax-Romania to permeate and alter their sacred way of life. The result of this 'hellenization' was the emergence of two collaborative groups. The first group was an esoteric group, which allowed the reinterpretation of the Sacred Book to fit in with Roman paganism. They were known as Pharasees, who collaborated with the Roman authorities in the oppression of the Jewish people. Then there were the established 'rabbanical' Jews who also supported the Roman occupation of Jerusalem, but were more strict and conservative in their interpolation of the Law of Moses. They were called Sadducees, and considered themselves the true heirs of the Mosaic tradition. From them came an extreme 'fundamentalist' element called the 'Zealots'. They were the most 'political' of the Sadducees and were anti-establishment so to speak, who wished to return the Temple in Jerusalem to its former purity by ousting the foreign Roman invaders. They had a terrorist arm, or assassins, which they called the *sicarii*, after the daggers they carried and used in their insurgents against the Romans. The Romans used both of these groups as a justification for spreading pax-romania throughout the Jewish homelands, and the sacking of Jerusalem.

There was third a group of the Banu Isra'il, who were known as Nazareans. They were Messianic communities who withdrew (or made *hijra*) from under the direct control of the Romans. Like the Sadducees, they held strictly to the Law of Moses, but also held to austere spiritual habits. They held to profound apocalyptic beliefs, and many modern scholars now admit that these were the communities from which Jesus (*Isa*), the son of Mary and John the Baptist (*Yahya*) took the majority of their followers. Today, scholars refer to them as the Qumran separatist communities of the deserts of Arabia and Palestine.

Today, the same trends have emerged in the *Umma* of Muhammad, may Allah bless him and grant him peace. We have witnessed certain 'sufi' esoteric groups led by their '*shaykhs*', openly collaborating with the Americans, acting as advisors to the American National Security, warning the 'Americans' against so-called fundamentalist trends of Muslims in the west. Yet another group claiming to follow the *Salaf as-Saalih* (the Righteous Forerunners), emerged with their 'rabbanical' clerical leadership out of Saudi claiming to be the true heirs of the *Sunna* of the Prophet, may Allah bless him and grant him peace. They too, working closely with American and western European intelligence organizations, have been actively toiling to undermine the growth of Islam among the oppressed peoples. From this faction, there emerged a group of terrorist assassins whose claim is to rid the Muslim world of western hegemony. These terrorist or Neo-Zealots, were at one time under contract and active training with the CIA in Afghanistan, from whom they learned the fine art of terror, mayhem and other 'black-ops' techniques that we are witnessing everyday in the news. America and its allies in the

west have used these terrorist acts as the justification for spreading the Neo-Roman idea of 'democracy' throughout the Muslim world.

It has been related by al-Bukhari, Muslim, Ibn Maja and Ahmad ibn Hanbal on the authority of Abu Sa`id al-Khudri, may Allah be pleased with him. He said that the Messenger of Allah, may Allah bless him and grant him peace said: "*You will certainly follow in the footsteps of the customs of those before you precisely, until if they had entered the hole of a lizard, you will certainly enter it as well.*" They said to him: "Do you mean the Jews and the Christians?" He replied: "*Who else?*" *Sultan Muhammad Bello*, may Allah be merciful to him said in his ad-Dhikra: "The above prophetic tradition clarifies that this community of Muslims will inevitably encounter the same misdeeds and transgressions that befell the Bani Isra`il after their first enjoying blessings, power, knowledge, and clear explanation. Everything that the most truthful of informers, upon him be blessings and peace informed us of has appeared clearly and plainly in this community." So how did things get so bad for the Muslim community? What was the cause of us being led astray? It has been related by al-Baraaz on the authority of Mu`adh that the Messenger of Allah, may Allah bless him and grant him peace said: "The most evil of the people will be the evil scholars among the people." The blame for the condition of the Muslims today cannot be placed at the feet of the common people. On the contrary, the common people are slowly and imperceptibly being led astray by evil leaders and scholars whose concern is the procurement of rank and position with the Romans. The duty of our leadership, today is to associate with the oppressed Muslims because by means of them we will attain victory from Allah ta`ala. It is ashamed how many among the Muslim leadership in the west have openly disregarded the oppressed and have catered their 'islamic call' to the elite of the society to no avail. The phenomenal growth of Islam in the west is among the oppressed, not the elite oppressors. And where the elite have joined the ranks of Islam, we have also witnessed the 'trojan horse' of collaboration and betrayal. It has been related by Mas`ab ibn Sa`d on the authority of his father who said that the Prophet, may Allah bless him and grant him peace said: "Verily Allah gives victory to the this *Umma* by means of the oppressed among them, by means of their supplications, their prayers and their sincerity."

This trend among the Muslim leaders and scholars is what caused the downfall of the Sokoto *Caliphate*. The common Muslim was neglected and the malevolent scholars became preoccupied with rank, and position, to the point where the danger of the Hour of the Christian slipped on them while they were unawares. Some of the scholars and leaders were so entrenched in the 'status quo' that they openly joined forces with the European Christians colonizers. Years of Islamic training did not protect them from following their whims and they began to alter the religion knowingly, in the same manner that the Banu Isra`il distorted the truth to garner favor with the Romans.

My point is that history is repeating itself, and the Prophet foretold all these events, may Allah bless him and grant him peace. Only by understanding the philosophy that underpins history can Muslims comprehend the events that are happening today. Allah ta`ala says in His Infallible *Qur'an*: "*Travel through the earth and see what happened to those communities before you.*" This is a clarion call from Allah to examine the lessons of history, in order not to fall victim to the same destructions that befell those communities.

It is in this light that the **Sankore' Institute** presents this study and analysis of the beginning of this period that we find ourselves in: the *Zaman 'n-Nasaara* – the Hour of the Christians. This study seeks to answer the many questions that plague Muslims today, regarding the legal right of Muslims residing among the disbelievers; the perpetual nature of *Jihad*; the pitfalls of truce with the disbelievers under false conditions; and the necessity for emigration from under the jurisdiction of the disbelievers. It analyses the importance of the Muslim judiciary as the corner stone of Islamic education as well as Islamic sovereignty. It discusses the bi-polar nature of Islamic authority and the dynamic tension between the executive government (the *amir*, the *imam*, the *waaliy*, and *Caliph*) and the judiciary (made up of austere yet autonomous upright scholars and jurist). The true motives of the European Christians are examined in this study in order to comprehend how this disastrous age or Hour began, so that perhaps some understanding can be had as to how it will end. The recent outburst of neo-colonialism on the part of America and her allies only indicates its Ending. A thing fights hardest when it is dying, and the Hour of the Christian is at its end! This alone explains the desperation of the west in its hopeless attempt to alter Islam and its people. There is an old saying that: 'the Devil has no new tricks'. This study of the Hour of the Christians demonstrates that what is being played out in the world today is simply the same old evil imperialist game with another name – Globalization!

Your brother in the service of Islam

Shaykh Muhammad Shareef bin Farid

Saturday, 9 Dhul Qi'dah, 1426 (December 10, 2005)

In a remote place of the world far from the plantation of Amerikkka!

**Institute of Islamic-African
Studies International**

'Zaman an-Nasaara'



**THE HOUR OF THE CHRISTIANS:
African Muslim Resistance to European Imperialism**

**Institute of Islamic-African
Studies International**

The Hour of the Christians":

The Legal Responses of the Sokoto *Caliphate* to British Imperialism As Reflected in the Risaala of Modibo Abdullahi, the Chief Judge of Adamawa

Introduction

On March 15, 1903 the armies of the Sokoto *Caliphate* were defeated at the hands of the British Imperialists. The *Caliph* (or ruler) of the Sokoto *Caliphate* at that time was Muhammad Attahiru¹, who led a mass exodus (*hijra*) of his loyal supporters and officials on the famous '*hijra* to the east' foretold by the founder of the Sokoto *Caliphate*, Shehu Uthman Dan Fuduye'.² This large movement of Muslims from Hausaland, Segu, Massina and Adamawa journeyed east until they arrived at a military garrison called Burmi on the far-east border of the Empire. There Attahiru and his *jama`at* (community) put up a valiant fight against the British before he and many of his supporters were martyred on July 27, 1903. Prior to his slaying, he appointed Muhammad Bello Mai Wurno as *Caliph* to lead the mass *hijra* to the banks of the Blue Nile as foretold by their grandfather, Uthman Dan Fuduye'.

The legal motives behind the *hijra* of Attahiru is masked in controversy and ambiguity. This is due to the fact that scholars, both Nigerian and British who were contemporary with the period in question, maintained that the *Caliph* Attahiru fled his responsibilities as leader of the Empire and failed to generate any clear policy regarding the British invasion.³ These erroneous opinions were the basis used by Gen. Lugard in appointing his new Sultan of Sokoto, Muhammad ibn Ali, on March 21, 1903.⁴ This image of political irresponsibility on the part of Attahiru has continued to be echoed by many historians since that time, until a very controversial Arabic manuscript was discovered in 1986 in the town of Maiurno, Sudan on the Blue Nile.⁵ The letter was written by the then chief judge of Adamawa, *Qadi* Modibo Abdullahi Bellel.⁶ This document has shed much light upon the many obscure events during the 1903 British invasion of the Sokoto *Caliphate*. Among these obscurities is the question of the legitimacy of the Sultanate of Sokoto. The document also calls to account many of the 'unintentional' historical fallacies spread by historians who did not have access to this controversial letter. As a result, this study will discuss the invasion of the Sokoto *Caliphate* by the British and the legal responses that the leaders of Sokoto resorted to as a means of maintaining their self-determination. The fact that the letter was composed by one of the members of the judiciary of the *Caliphate* sheds light upon the pivotal role of the *qudaa* (judiciary) in Islamic government. This study will reveal that: [1] the Risaala of Modibbo Abdullahi (Mudi Abdu) embodied the fundamental policy of the Sokoto

¹ _ He was Muhammad Attahiru ibn Ahmad Zaruku ibn Abu Bakr Atiku ibn Shehu Uthman Dan Fuduye', the 12th *Caliph* of the Sokoto Empire.

² _ A.H.M. Kirk-Greene, *Adamawa: Past and Present*, (Oxford Press, Oxford), 1958, p. 24.

³ Al-Amin Abu Manga, "al-Asas 'l-Fiqhiyya Li *Hijra* Amir'l-Mu'mineen Attahiru al-Awwal Min Sokoto", *Diraasat Ifriqiyya*, No. 5, October 1989, pp. 21-23.

⁴ _ R.A. Adeleye, *Power and Diplomacy in Northern Nigeria, 1804-1906*, (London, 1971), p.285.

⁵ _ I found this manuscript in the home of *Shaykh* Bello Abd'r-Raaziq, the grandson of the famous *Shaykh* Abd'l-Qadir ibn al-Mustafa (Dan Tafa) and the great grand son of Shehu Uthman Dan Fuduye'. His father Abd'r-Raaziq made the *hijra* with Muhammad Bello Mai Wurno to the banks of the Blue Nile in 1906 and was appointed as the *Imam* of the chief mosque in the town of Maiurno..

⁶ _ Al-Amin Abu Manga, pp.22-24.

Caliphate against British imperialism. [2] The *Risaala* embraced and complimented the idea of the '*Hour of the Christians*' as foretold by the founder of the *Caliphate*, *Shehu Uthman Dan Fuduye'*. [3] The concept of the 'hour of the Christians' was a persistent idea that was consciously transmitted through the long history of the *Caliphate* as a vitalizing and mobilizing force against disintegration, especially during the rule of Attahiru I. And [4] the ideas of the *Risaala* embodied the fundamental response to the '*Hour of the Christians*' and posits the concept of perpetual *hijra* and *jihad*, the two main supports in the founding of the *Sokoto-Caliphate* in 1803 by *Shehu Uthman Dan Fuduye'*.



The Masjid of *Shehu Uthman Dan Fuduye'* in Sokoto, Nigeria

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I. Islamic Resistance to Colonialism

Many western scholars have suggested that European colonialism of Africa brought more good to Africa than evil. They go on to insinuate that Europe through colonialism helped develop Africa and initiate the process of modernization and industrialization.⁷ This conclusion is easily challenged by the fact that Africans all over the continent resisted European colonialism to some degree. Of course, the colonialist would have us believe that African resistance to European 'benevolence' was a proof of its backwardness and ignorance to its overall well being. They believed that only an uncivilized people would resist its own development. The facts of European colonialism in Africa and the legacy it left alone, however, speaks out against such logic. Africa's under-development was the direct result of European colonialism that led to African resistance.

The vehemence of this resistance was based upon the existence of African political power, the ability of Africans to mobilize themselves and use weapons, and most importantly the ability to define its own ideology and culture. This later concept could be defined as a peoples 'historical conscience'. It is the sole factor that is the firmest defense against colonization, enslavement and debasement. Cheikh Anta Diop underscored this idea when he said, "In the face of cultural aggression of all sorts, in the face of all disintegrating factors of the outside world, the most efficient weapon with which a people can arm itself is this feeling of historical continuity."⁸ Thus revolution and resistance to colonialism is born out of the people's awareness of themselves and the knowledge that their 'collective soul' is under attack.

Having said this, it is imperative to note that there were two types of resistance to European colonialism, which emerged in Africa: *primary resistance* and *secondary resistance*. I define 'primary resistance' as the type of resistance wherein there is a cohesive African belief system intact backed up by an African nation-state or polity and a continuous sense of historical conscience. I define 'secondary resistance' as the type of resistance, which emerges after the loss of national sovereignty and the destruction of the collective historical conscience, which then forces the people to adopt the ideals of the colonizers to liberate themselves from colonization.

Examples of primary resistance to European colonization were the resistance of the unitary state of Ethiopia to Italy. Another is the heroic armed struggle put forward by the Asante against British colonialism. Finally, there were the crushing defeats, which the European colonialist suffered at the hands of various Islamic resistance movements throughout the African continent. Among them were the resistance of Samore Toure in Guinea, Muhammad Ahmad al-Mahdi in the Sudan, Abd'al-Qadir al-Jaza'iri in Algeria, the Sunissiyya in Libya, the Somalian resistance against Britain, Italy and France led by Muhammad Abdallah Hassan and the undaunted Sokoto resistance against British hegemony in Northern Nigeria. It is this last primary resistant movement that this paper will discuss at length. The Sokoto *Caliphate's* resistance to British hegemony was the best example of primary resistance to European colonialism because it demonstrated the confrontation between independent self-governing unitary African empire and the arrogant land grabbing European imperialist.

⁷ _ Walter Rodney, How Europe Underdeveloped Africa, (Howard University Press, Washington, D.C., 1982), 205.

⁸ _ Cheikh Anta Diop, Civilization or Barbarism: An Authentic Anthropology, (Lawrence Hill Books, Brooklyn, 1991), 212.

Before delving into this in depth, some reference should be made to examples of what I consider to be secondary resistance movements in Africa. 'Secondary' does not in any way mean that they were any less effective. On the contrary, secondary resistance movements showed more resilience and had a more lasting affect than that of primary resistance movements. The reasons for this are many. The first of them being that primary resistance movements were opposed at all cost by European colonialist because in order for colonialism to work all African systems of self-government had to be stomped out and discredited. The existence of an indigenous self-governing African state would be glaring proof against the fabrications of the colonialist. Thus, all sought of schemes were developed to justify conquering existing African states, such as the European 'benevolent desire' to stamp out the slave trade and to introduce 'civilization'. Crawford Young points out that,

"... with the 1890 Brussels Anti-Slavery Conference a landmark in the diplomacy of African partition. Vivifying commerce and uplifting Christian conversion opportunities were other components to initial colonial state ideology,..."⁹.

These factors gave Europe a sense of 'manifest destiny' in its zeal to destroy indigenous African political authority. However, secondary resistance emerged from African elements which had either been trained in the civil servant training schools of the colonialist, trained and fought in the military of the European colonialist, or were afforded the opportunity to get education in one of the European (or American) metropolises. This allowed men like Senghor, Nkrumah, Lamumba, Kenyatta, Diagne, Cesaire, and Nyerere to develop ideas of liberation, which were, although opposed to European colonialist interest, yet couched in terms, and ideas, which were understandable to Europeans. Pan-Africanism had the same aims and objectives of Pan-Europeanism. African nationalism was consistent with European nationalism. African socialism could be defined in terms understandable to Europeans because of its Marxist-Leninist leanings. In other words the European had passed on the "light of civilization" to the African and they had delineated the diameter of the dialectic for African aspirations for freedom. Thus, the circumference of African political activity had been predetermined by the utilization of European dialectics. This is not to be critical of secondary resistance movements, but the truth of the above statement is the present crisis that engulfs the whole of Africa in spite of the years of 'independence' from European colonialism. The Europeans realized that the flow of wealth out of the African continent as a result of independence would not cease, because Africa's 'liberators' were educated to think Africa should be apart of the world economy and to participate in the 'established' institutions of the world community. In short, secondary resistance was a reaction to the contradictions that colonial educated Africans saw in the practice of the colonialist and the 'enlightened' ideals, which they professed. Young states it clearly and succinctly,

"The model of the constitutional state, utilized as the exemplary vision of the ideal polity to be replicated in the structures of decolonization, was the metropolitan state. For the colonial class, it was the only version of the political good, which they knew. For the nationalists, the metropolitan constitutional order was an equally inevitable model; they had long used the contradiction between its theory and colonial practice as a polemical

⁹ _ Crawford Young, "The African Colonial State and Its Political Legacy", in The Precarious Balance: State and Society in Africa, ed. Donald Rothchild and N. Chazan, p. 37.

weapon, all the more effective because the colonial official class could not disavow the normative validity of metropolitan standards."¹⁰

It is in this light that we turn now to the indigenous primary resistance movements in Africa, because subsumed within its genesis is a firm innate sense of superiority over foreign European invasion. No one argues about the rich and ancient traditions of equality, justice and freedom for which the state of Ethiopia was renown. This sense of self worth that preceded the formation of the nation states in Europe gave Menelik of Ethiopia and his advisors a secure feeling of disdain for European models of government. This alone was the cultural cement that unified it against foreign aggression. One must remember, that the nation of Ethiopia had a persistent belief that the 'covenant' given to the Bani Israel through David and Solomon, had been passed to Ethiopia through the son of Solomon and Makeda, called David. It has been their consistent belief that the Ark of the Covenant, the very power of the house of Israel (*Bayt 'l-Isra'il*) was taken into Ethiopia and what was previously the birthright of the Banu Israel was now the birthright of Ethiopia, the Lion of Judah. Regardless if this claim is historical fact or not, the fact that the people of Ethiopia believed it to be true is what gave them their innate sense of disdain for the European colonizers who attempted to subjugate them.

There are countless cases, as we have mentioned earlier, of primary resistance to European colonization wherein the Africans innate awareness of the priority and pre-eminence which their culture had over that of the European's afforded them the ideological means for self determination. Like Europe, these indigenous African systems perceived within itself the potential of progressive development along the same lines as Europe or Asia. This potential (being based upon African cosmological and spiritual convictions) had the capacity of reaching a higher form of development than the European models. This factor must be appreciated when trying to analyze the motivations behind primary resistance movements of African states. The above point is of premier importance when examining the resistance against British colonialism by the Sokoto *Caliphate*. This African Islamic government had its own eschatological beliefs and cosmogony that imbued it with a sense of 'manifest destiny' and placed it above all the existing governments of the world. The Sokoto *Caliphate* saw itself as the primary example of the Prophetic model created by Prophet Muhammad centuries earlier. In his *Najm'l-Ikhwaan*, the *Shehu* outlined the distinguishing marks of the Sokoto *Caliphate*:

"As for what will clarify what Allah ta`ala has conferred upon us in these times of religious and worldly blessings, so that the people of these times can be grateful for them. This will make them and us worthy of increase, because Allah ta`ala says: 'If you are grateful, He will increase you in blessings.' We also clarify these blessings so that every person of insight may know that we are following in the footsteps of Muhammad the Chosen Prophet, in all affairs. Realize, O Brothers! Allah ta`ala, has conferred upon us in these times: [1] a clear explanation of what is to be believed in (*aqeeda*) from the religion of Allah; [2] a clear explanation of what is to be done (*amal*) from the religion of Allah; [3] a clear explanation of what is to be avoided (*tark*) from the religion of Allah; [4] a clear understanding of what is highly recommended (*mubaah*) from the religion of Allah; [5] He has conferred upon us the removal of obscurities (*shubuhah*) from the religion of Allah; [6] He has conferred upon us the favor of

¹⁰ _Ibid, 53.

commanding what all that is good (*amri bi'l-ma`ruf*); [7] forbidding indecency (*nahyi `an 'l-munkar*); [8] frightening the people to cause them to leave disobedience of Allah; [9] giving good tidings to the people to urge them to the worship of Allah; Then He conferred on us [10] the favor of making the emigration (*hijra*); [11] the nominating of an *Amir'l-Mu'mineen*; [12] the taking up of the instruments of *jihad* which are cavalry horses, arrows, longbows, spears, swords, shields, armor, belts, helmets and other military equipment. He then conferred on us [13] the favor of making the *jihad* with them; [14] the appointing of prime ministers (*wazir*); [15] appointing the amirs of the armies; [16] the establishment of the public treasury (*khaazin*); [17] the appointing of regional amirs; [18] the appointing of government secretaries (*kaatib*); [19] the appointing of ambassadors (*rusul*) to foreign kingdoms; [20] taking civil servants (*khudaam*) for domestic affairs; [21] appointing of the judiciary (*qudaa*); [22] appointing of the *amirs* responsible for executing legal punishments (*huduud*); and [23] the appointing of the *Amir* of pilgrimage (*hajj*). Thus, these 23 characteristics are the fundamental rites of *Islam*. And there number is like the number of years of the mission (*risaala*) of Muhammad, may Allah bless him and grant him peace. We are grateful to Allah who has favored us with the manifestation of these fundamental Islamic rites during the Last Days."¹¹

This cohesive self-image of the Sokoto *Caliphate* connected as it was to the primary model of Muhammad, (may Allah bless him and grant him peace) and his early *Caliphate*, constituted the most steadfast and most impervious shield of cultural security against cultural aggression and internal disintegration. This historical conscience, and the historical continuity which it created, helped to revitalize the *Caliphate* during its long history of development and consolidation.

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¹¹ _Uthman Dan Fuduye', *Najm'l-Ikhwaan*, manus., ff. 9-10.

II. A Brief Review of the *Hijra* and Jihad of *Shehu* Uthman Dan Fuduye' and the Foundation of the Sokoto Caliphate

In 1774, a young Turudbe Fulani man named *Shehu* Uthman Dan Fuduye' began a social revolution that would change the entire map of Western, Central and Eastern *Bilad's-Sudan*. *Shehu* Uthman began his career by traveling throughout the villages and metropolises of Hausaland, calling the people to the religion of Islam. His methodology of reforming Hausaland included going to the markets and singing *Fulbe* and *Hausa* songs to writing Arabic texts addressing the many social ills which effected the people. The blameworthy characteristics, which he rose to correct, were: the persistent pagan customs that prevailed among Muslims and non-Muslims alike; the heretical innovations that the evil scholars allowed to proliferate among the people; the injustice of the rulers; and the illicit behavior and immorality that afflicted family and community life.

Shehu Uthman initiated the practice of teaching as he learned.¹² Thus, around him there emerged a cadre of learned colleagues who shared his zeal for erudition and reform. Among these colleagues were his brother Abdullahi, his best friend Umar Kammi, and many of his sons and daughters - like Muhammad Bello, Muhammad Sanbu, Khadija and Nana Asma'u. Whenever the *Shehu* recognized that an issue was unresolved or not clear to his colleagues, he would set out immediately to compose a book dealing with the fundamentals of that issue. Thus, around him grew a very learned group of men and women, who were inspired to spread education and reform as the *Shehu* had done. Murray Last quotes a Hausa poem that gives an accurate picture of the extent of the social revolution that the *Shehu* had created in Hausaland at that time,

"Verily a cloud has settled on Allah's earth
A cloud so dense that escape from it is impossible.
Everywhere between Kordofan and Gobir
And the cities of the Kindin (Tuareg)
Are the settlements of the dogs of the Fulani
Worshipping Allah in all their dwelling places
In reforming all districts and provinces
Ready for the future bliss
So in this year of 1214 they are following their
beneficent theories
As though it were time to set the world in order by
preaching."¹³

From 1774 to 1788 *Shehu* Uthman established himself as a pious and upright scholar dedicated to giving life to the sunna of Prophet Muhammad and destroying non-Islamic heretical practices. Most of the writings and preaching the *Shehu* was involved with during this period covered the science of *tawhid* (theology), *`aqida* (doctrine), *fiqh* (jurisprudence), and *tasawwuf* (sufism). Among his more outstanding works during this period were *Tanbih't-Taulab `Ala Allah Ma`ruf bi'l-Fitra*, *Sawq'l-Umma li 'Ittiba`u s'-Sunna* and *al-Amr bi'l-Ma`ruf wa'n-Nahyi `an'l-Munkar*. As a result of his dedication and steadfastness he accumulated a multitude of students and scholars as supporters.¹⁴ This also brought him to the notice of the rulers throughout Hausaland. At the end of the year

¹² _Abdullahi Dan Fuduye', *Tazvin'l-Waraqaat*, trans. Mervyn Hiskett, (Ibadan University Press, Ibadan), 1963, 27.

¹³ _Murray Last, *The Sokoto Caliphate*, (Longman, London), 1977, p.11.

¹⁴ _Abdullahi Dan Fuduye', p.86.

of 1788, the *Shehu* was summoned along with all the scholars of the country by Bawa the ruler of Gobir during the *`id* prayer celebrating the end of *Hajj* season.¹⁵ According to Professor el-Misri, Bawa intended to assassinate *Shehu* Uthman.¹⁶ However, this plan failed and the ruler instead presented the *Shehu* with 500 mithqals of gold. *Shehu* Uthman's response to this was;

"Neither I nor my *jam`aat* are in need of your money. However, we want five 'cloaks' from you. [1] To allow me to invite the people to Allah in your land. [2] Not to stop anyone who intends to respond to my invitation. [3] To treat every person wearing the turban or a veil with respect. [4] To free all political prisoners. And [5] not to burden your subjects with unjust taxes."¹⁷

The ruler Bawa acquiesced to all of *Shehu* Uthman's demands and then said as the *Shehu* got up to leave, "Do you see that Fulani man? After me their will no longer be any king over Gobir, with the exception of common village heads."¹⁸ During this meeting more than one thousand scholars accompanied *Shehu* Uthman, giving some indication of the amount of support he held among the intellectual community of Hausaland. Soon after this event during the same year Bawa the ruler of Gobir died and his son Yakubu was appointed as ruler of Gobir.¹⁹

Though *Shehu* Uthman had composed more than fifty works during this period, his most outstanding work of this time was a book he wrote when he reached the age of 41 in 1795 called *Ihya's-Sunna wa Ikhmad'l-Bid`a*. This text became his *magnum opus* and it propelled him above all the scholars of his time, earning him the title of *mujjaddid* (reformer) of the twelfth Islamic century. The *Ihya* became the handbook for most of the revolutionaries of *Bilad's-Sudan* and was his largest work, covering all aspects of theology and law.²⁰ It must be pointed out here that the Muslims believed at that time that there had been eleven *mujjaddids* (reformers) whose job was to revive the *sunna* of Prophet Muhammad and give life to his religion. These were foretold to come at the head of every century.²¹

During this same period Yakubu the ruler of Gobir died and his brother Nafata was appointed as ruler.²² It is during his reign that *Shehu* Uthman began to face intense hostility and opposition to his mission. As a result, Nafata repealed all of the concessions made by his father Bawa to the *Shehu*. According to Muhammad Bello, Nafata passed the edict forbidding anyone to preach except the *Shehu*, forbidding anyone to convert from his father's religion, ordering all who had converted to Islam to return to their

¹⁵ _Gidado ibn Laima, *Rawd'l-Janaan*, manus., f. 14.

¹⁶ _F.H. el-Misri, "The Life of Shehu `Uthman Dan Fodio Before the *Jihad*", *Journal of the Historical Society of Nigeria*, II:4, December 1963, p. 436.

¹⁷ _Gidado ibn Laima, *Raud*, f.7.

¹⁸ _Ibid., f.7-8.

¹⁹ _Abd'l Qaadir ibn al-Mustafa, *Raud'l-Afkaar*, manus. ff. 8-9.

²⁰ _F.H. el-Misri, ed., *Bayan Wujub'l-Hijra `Ala'l-Ibaad of Shehu Uthman Dan Fodio*, (Khartoum University Press, Khartoum), 1978, p.23.

²¹ _The 12 *mujjaddids* were: [1] Umar ibn Abd'l-Aziz; [2] Imam Muhammad ibn Idris; [3] Imam Abu'l-Hassan'l-Ash`ari; [4] Shaykh Muhammad ibn at-Tayyib al-Baqillani; [5] Imam Abu Hamid Muhammad al-Ghazzali; [6] Imam Fakr ad-Din ar-Razi [7] Imam Ibn Daqqeq; [8] Imam Siraj'l-Deen Umar ibn Rasin al-Balqini; [9] Shaykh Jalal'l-Deen Abd'l-Rahman as-Suyuti (some of the African scholars say Muhammad ibn Abd'l-Kareem al-Maghili was the *mujjaddid* of the ninth century); and [10] Nur'l-Deen Ali ibn Muhammad al-Ujhuri; [11] Shaykh Ahmadu Baba al-Timbukti (Ahmadu Baba claimed that his teacher Modibo Muhammad Baghyugu was the *mujjaddid* of the eleventh century); and then [12] SHEHU UTHMAN DAN FUDUYE'.

²² _J.A. Burdon, *Northern Nigeria: Some Notes on Certain Emirates and Tribes*, (London, 1909), p.66.

previous religion, and forbidding anyone to wear the turban or veil.²³ These edicts were designed to reintegrate the *Shehu's* community back into the jurisdiction of Gobir and to break the increasing influence which *Shehu* Uthman had over the people of Hausaland.



Folio 2 of the *Bayan Wujub'l-Hijra `Ala'l-Ibaad* of *Shehu* Uthman Dan Fuduye', from the archives of the Center for Islamic Studies at the University of Usuman Danfodio, Sokoto Nigeria

In 1797, the *Shehu* wrote a series of poems in Fulbe encouraging his followers to wear the turbans, veils and to start collecting weapons, because all of these practices were apart of the sunna of the Prophet.²⁴ This marked the beginning of the break with the Habe authorities. Throughout Hausaland the Fulani, Hausa, Nupe and other supporters of the *Shehu* began gathering weapons and preparing for the *hijra* from under the jurisdiction of the disbelievers. By 1803, *Shehu* Uthman had written his *Masa'il-l-Muhimma* pointing out among many issues: the obligation to make *hijra* from the lands of the disbelievers; and more importantly, the obligation of all Muslims taken the oath of allegiance to an *Amir*. He demonstrated in this work that it was not permissible for any Muslim to be left alone without being under the oath of allegiance to an *Amir* or *Caliph*. The precedence which he relied upon were the Qur'an, the *sunna* and the consensus of opinion of the scholars. He said:

"I say, and success is with Allah, that entering under the oath of allegiance (*bay`at*) to an *amir'l-mu'mineen* is an obligation upon every Muslim, if he finds one. Muhammad ibn Abd'l-Karim al-Maghili said in his *Ajwiba* where he replied to the inquiries of the *Askia* (Muhammad Toure); 'It is not permissible (*laa yahilu*) for a group (*ta'ifa*) among the Muslims that they be left to themselves. Allah ta'ala says; 'Hold firm to the rope of Allah all together, and do not become disunited.' It has been related in the *Sahih* of Imam Muslim on the

²³ _ Muhammad Bello, *Infaq'l-Maysur*, (Abu Bakr Gummi, Cairo), 1964, p.69.

²⁴ _ F.H. el-Misri, p.23.

authority of Ibn Umar, that the Messenger of Allah (P.B.U.H.) said, 'Whoever removes his hand from obedience, will meet Allah on the Day of Judgment without any proof. And whoever dies and the oath of allegiance is not over his neck, has died the death of *jahiliyya* (disbelief).' In this is what is sufficient as an answer to this problem."²⁵

This work was written to guide the jama`aat during a time of the greatest tension between them and the Habe authorities. The key policy which emerged as a fundamental principle in dealing with oppression was the theme of *hijra -jihad*. This theme was an attempt to imitate the classical response made by Prophet Muhammad and his community in 622 A.D., when they made their famous *hijra* from Mecca to Medina. Soon after this *hijra* Prophet Muhammad declared the *jihad* against the disbelievers of Mecca and was granted a major victory in the battle of Badr.²⁶ The *hijra -jihad* theme would be repeated over and over again throughout the history of the expansion of Islam in Asia, Africa and in Europe. In Africa this dual theme became fundamental principles in the formation of many of the Islamic states which emerged in the *Bilad's-Sudan*.

After the composing of the Masa'il, Shehu Uthman composed his manifesto called Wathiqah ila Jami` Ahl's-Sudan (A Letter to All the People of the Blacklands). This treatise summed up what had been detailed in the Masa'il and it was written to the rulers as well as his supporters. It was written in the form of a 'declaration of independence', summarizing in thirty-nine points, all the fundamental aspects of the *hijra -jihad* theme.²⁷ The following is a summation of the first twenty-three arguments of the 'declaration of independence' outlined in the Wathiqah. Citing them is important because the themes discussed in them will be echoed throughout the history of the *Caliphate* up until 1903.

"I say, and success is with Allah, realize O brothers!: [1] that commanding the good is obligatory by consensus (of the Qur'an, the *sunna* and the agreement of the scholars); [2] that forbidding indecency is obligatory by consensus; [3] that emigration (*hijra*) from the lands of the disbelievers is obligatory by consensus; [4] that taking the believers as protecting friends is obligatory by consensus; [5] that appointing and *amir'l-mu'mineen* (commander of the believers) is obligatory by consensus; [6] that obedience to him and his representatives (*nuwwaab*) is obligatory by consensus; [7] that *jihad* (struggle) is obligatory by consensus; [8] that appointing *amirs* (governors) over the countries is obligatory by consensus; [9] that appointing judges (*qudaa*) is obligatory by consensus; [10] that they (the judiciary) discharge and implement the precepts of the *shari`a* is obligatory by consensus; [11] that the judgment of a country is based upon the judgment of its ruler (this is by consensus) - if its ruler is Muslim then the country is a land of Islam - if its ruler is a disbeliever then the country is a land of disbelief which makes it obligatory to emigrate (*hijra*) from it; [12] that fighting the disbelieving ruler who has never said ***La ilaha illa Allah*** (there is no deity except Allah) is obligatory by consensus; [13] that taking the government from him is obligatory by consensus; [14] that fighting the disbelieving ruler who has never said ***La ilaha ila Allah*** because of the custom of his land nor has he claimed Islam is obligatory by consensus; [15] that taking the government from him is obligatory by consensus; [16] that fighting the apostate ruler who has left the

²⁵ _ Uthman Dan Fuduye', Masaa'il'l-Muhimma, manus., ff.2-3.

²⁶ _ Cyril Glasse', The Concise Encyclopedia of Islam, (Harper-Colins, New York), 1989, pp.156-7.

²⁷ _ F.H. el-Misri, p.24.

religion of Islam for the religion of disbelief is obligatory by consensus; [17] that taking the government from him is obligatory by consensus; [18] that fighting the apostate ruler who has not left the religion of Islam because he outwardly claims Islam, but he mixes the acts of Islam with the acts of disbelief (like most of the rulers of Hausaland) is obligatory by consensus; [19] that taking the government from him is obligatory by consensus; [20] that fighting the Muslims who keep to themselves without entering under the oath of allegiance to an *amir* from the *amirs* of the believers when they have been invited to the oath of allegiance and they refuse is obligatory by consensus; [21] that declaring a Muslim to be disbeliever because of acts of innovation (*bid'a*) is forbidden by consensus; [22] that declaring a Muslim to be disbeliever because of acts of disobedience (*ma'aasi*) is forbidden by consensus; [23] that remaining in the lands of war is forbidden by consensus."²⁸

This document is perhaps the most important work produced by *Shehu* Uthman because all the rest of his works are a commentary or detailing of the above. It was a formal announcement of his impending break with the Hausa rulers and a call of support from the Muslims. It was during this same period that the Muslims started collecting weapons.

In 1802 Nafata died and the authority was given to his son Yunfa, who was more oppressive towards the Muslims than his father.²⁹ The following year because the foiled attempt to destroy a faction of the *Shehu's* community Yunfa attempted to kill *Shehu* Uthman which led to the famous *hijra* from under the jurisdiction of the disbelievers of Hausaland.³⁰ The community of the *Shehu* fled to a land called Gudu where they appointed him as the *Caliph* and *Amir'l-mu'mineen*.³¹ This appointment was significant because this new dispensation was based upon the belief that *Shehu* Uthman Dan Fuduye' was the eleventh of the 12 righteous *Caliphs* that Prophet Muhammad foretold about. There are two Prophetic traditions narrated in *Sahih* Muslim that deals with this subject. The first one was related from Jabir ibn Samr, who said;

"My father and I once visited the Prophet when we heard him say, 'This affair (i.e. the glory of the religion and rectifying the condition of the Muslims) will not cease until there has come twelve *Caliphs*.' He then said something that I did not hear. I asked my father what he said. He replied, 'He said all of them will be from the Quraysh!'"³²

The second tradition is similar, except now the 12 *Caliphs* are connected to governance (*wilayat*). It was related by the above mentioned Jabir ibn Samr, that he heard the Prophet say on the Friday evening that al-Aslami was stoned;

"The religion will continue firm and unflinching until the coming of the Hour, or until there is appointed over you twelve *Caliphs*. Each of them will be from the Quraysh."³³

²⁸ _ Uthman Dan Fuduye', *Wathiqat'l-Ikhwaan*, manus., ff.1-2.

²⁹ _ Abd'l Qaadir ibn al-Mustafa, ff.8-9.

³⁰ _ Muhammad Bello, pp.67, 130.

³¹ _ Murray Last, p.23.

³² _ Muslim ibn Al-Hajjaj al-Nisaburi, *as-Sahih*, (Isa al-Babi al-Halbi Publishers, Cairo), 1962, Vol.2. p.121.

³³ _ *Ibid.*, pp.121-122.

According to Abdullahi Dan Fuduye'³⁴, Muhammad Bello³⁵ and many of the Fulani historians, the Torodbe' clan of the Fulani were descended from the Companion of Prophet Muhammad, Uqba ibn Nafi', who conquered North Africa and came with his army as far as Massina in the *bilad's-sudan*.³⁶ He allegedly married a Fulani girl named Ba`ajo Manga, and fathered the Torodbe' clan of the Fulani. Whether this claim can be verified outside the claims of their historians is outside the domain of this study. The point being made here is that those who gave the oath of allegiance to *Shehu* Uthman Dan Fuduye', did so with the belief that he was from among the Quraysh, allowing them to also believe that he was among the twelve righteous *Caliphs* mentioned above. These *Caliphs* included Abu Bakr as-Sadiq (632-634), Umar al-Faruq (634-644), Uthman ibn Afan (644-656), Ali ibn Abi Talib (656-661), al-Hassan ibn Ali (661-661), Mu`awiyya ibn Sufyan (661-680), Abdallah ibn az-Zubayr (683-692), Umar ibn Abd'l-Aziz (717-720), al-Muhtadi Bi'amrillah (869-870), At-Thaahir Billah (1225-1226), and *Shehu* Uthman Dan Fuduye' (1803-1817). Each of these men were responsible for establishing justice, equity and reviving the religion.

Soon after the *hijra* of *Shehu's* community and the oath of allegiance was given to him, Yunfa raised an immense army from among his jurisdiction and from other rulers who could muster forces. *Shehu* Uthman appointed his illustrious brother Abdullahi as general of the armies (*amir'l-jaysh*) of the Muslims.³⁷ The two opposing forces met at a place called Tabkin Kwotto. Murray Last gives the account of the first confrontation between the *Shehu* and Yunfa:

"The Muslims were outnumbered and ill equipped to face the heavy cavalry. With only a few horses, they had to rely on their bows. On one flank they were covered by the lake which now had water; the ground itself, though flat for miles before the ridges in the east, favored the Muslims by being wooded. The advantage in morale was also theirs: facing destruction if they were captured, expecting the reward of martyrdom if they died, convinced Muslims and refugees from a pagan state, they had the Shaikh, the most powerful Muslim in Gobir, to encourage and pray for them. Conversely, the supernatural power which the Shaikh was credited . . . Thus with superior morale, the Muslims began the battle and charged the enemy. Although the Gobirawa overlapped both Muslim wings and drove them into the center, the center held: being bunched together was little hindrance, since each man with his bow could be effective. The Gobirawa were eventually turned back in a rout.³⁸

Muhammad Bello compared the battle of Tabkin Kwotto to the celebrated battle of Badr in which the forces of Prophet Muhammad completely defeated the disbelievers of Mecca.³⁹ This battle manifestly improved the chances of success for the jama`aat of the *Shehu*, strengthened their morale immensely and sapped that of their enemies. Because the Muslims had the disadvantage of numbers and equipment, the victory at Tabkin Kwotto was seen as due to Allah's intervention on the side of the Muslims.

³⁴ _ Abdullahi Dan Fuduye', *Tazyin'l-Waraqaaat*, trans. M. Hiskett, (Ibadan University Press, Ibadan), 1963, p.97.

³⁵ _ Muhammad Bello, Infaq, p.21.

³⁶ _ John R. Willis, ed., *Studies in West African Islamic History*, (Frank Cass, London), Vol.1, pp.114-115.

³⁷ _ Abdullahi Dan Fuduye', p.109.

³⁸ _ Murray Last, p.26-27.

³⁹ _ Muhammad Bello, p.77.

Abdullahi Dan Fuduye' describes the joy and confidence which the Muslims enjoyed as a result of their victory over the forces of Yunfa.

"And there was nothing, except I saw that their waterless cloud
Had cleared away from the sun of Islam which was shining
By the help of Him who helped the Prophet against the foe
At Badr, with an army of angels gathered together.

And many a great man our hands flung down,

And axes cleft his head, spilt asunder.

And many a brave warrior did our arrows strike down,

And our swords; birds and hyenas cover him;

...

And we are an army victorious in Islam,

And we are proud of nothing but that.

Tribes of Islam - and Turudbe is our clan

Our Fulani and our Hausa all united,

And among us other than these, certain tribes joined together

For the help of Allah's religion - made up the union.

...

None can destroy what the hand of Allah has built.

None can turn back the command of Allah when it comes.

Allah's promise has been completed and the victory of His religion:

There remains nothing but thanks to Him, and humble prayer."⁴⁰

The jama`aat of *Shehu* was exceedingly pleased with their victory over the forces of Yunfa. However, *Shehu* Uthman went into spiritual retreat and he saw a startling vision of the Prophet. In this vision he saw the expected Mahdi who would save Islam, the coming of the *zaman'n-nasara* (the hour of the Christians), and the *hijra* of the faithful from Sokoto to the Nile River and the Hijaz to meet the Mahdi. He saw that the people of the *ribat* and their successors, the true followers of th *Shehu*, would go on the journey to the east guided by the light and *baraka* of the *Shehu*. The apostates, collaborators and deceivers would not go and would remain in the west, settling among the Christian European's jurisdiction until the anti-Christ came out against them.⁴¹ The *Shehu* came out and informed his people not to rejoice because his green flag would be a passport to victory for 100 years, and exactly at the end of one century the 'hour of the Christian's' would emerge and eclipse the Sokoto *Caliphate* in the west.⁴² It was during this period that he wrote his famous 'Song of the Journey to the East', where he described in detail the very route of the *hijra* and disclosed its time:

"When the ruler of the Muslims goes to Mecca, we must pray,
and make ready our goods to go with him.

...

We pray to the Lord, the King of the worlds, when we start,

that we may obtain provision of the journey from the disbelievers.

With our wives, our children, all our servants and our wealth,

we Muslims will flee together.

⁴⁰ _ Abdullahi Dan Fuduye', pp.110-111.

⁴¹ _ Abu Bakr Atiku ibn Uthman Dan Fuduye', *Risaalat ila Jama`at Gwandu*, manus.,ff. 23-31.

⁴² _ A.H.M. Kirk-Greene, p.24.

We will travel too without thirst or hunger; we will rejoice in that which is sweet one with another.

By the power of Allah, and the blessing of our saint (*Shehu* Uthman), He will bring us to the place where a share shall be granted to all.

When we start from here we travel diligently, we follow it, we travel east as far as Adamawa.

When we start from Adamawa we come to the country of Bagu, we put down our goods.

May Allah bring us to the town (on the Nile) without lack of anything; with joy we shall meet with the Arabs."⁴³

The subjection of *Bilad's-Sudan* by the British and the French in the last decade of the nineteenth century caused the mass *hijra* towards the east as *Shehu* Uthman Dan Fuduye' foretold. According to the eschatological beliefs of the Hour of the Christians would be one of the signs of the end of the world and the key cause for making the final *hijra* to meet the Mahdi.⁴⁴

From 1804 to 1808 *Shehu* Uthman was able to bring under his jurisdiction all the regions of Hausaland. His main helpers in these wars were his brother Abdullahi and his son Muhammad Bello. From 1810 to 1815 the *Shehu* moved to Sifawa from Gwandu, where he amplified his lectures and teachings. His stay in Sifawa was the most intellectually productive period for the *Caliphate*. While there, the *Shehu* would hold lectures every morning and evening. Some days he would lecture on the Quranic interpretation, Quranic recitation, the circumstances surrounding the revelation of certain verses, and the jurisprudence of the Qur'an. He would lecture on the science of Prophetic traditions, discussing the whole range of the six sound collections of traditions, and the methodology of drawing out judgments from these. On appropriate days the *Shehu* would lecture on the circumstances of death, life in the graves, the resurrection and Day of Judgment, and the hell fires and Paradise. Some days he would teach on the corruption that would fill world and the injustice which would lead to the appearance of the Mahdi, the Anti-Christ, the return of Jesus ibn Maryum, and the conditions of the Last Days. Some days were singled out for the study of the science of the purification of the soul (*tasawwuf*) and the methodologies of spiritual advancement. Other days the *Shehu* would entertain questions on jurisprudence and pass legal judgments. On Thursday nights the *Shehu* would teach against injustices and oppression in the *Caliphate*, against extortion from the poor and against the corruption of government officials.⁴⁵ While in Sifawa, *Shehu* Uthman composed eleven of his most thought provoking and revolutionary works.

In 1812 *Shehu* Uthman retired from active rule and appointed his brother and son at the head of the new empire. Abdullahi was placed over the western capital in Gwandu and Bello was placed over the eastern capital at Sokoto.⁴⁶ In 1815 *Shehu* moved from Sifawa to Sokoto where he concerned himself with writing to consolidate the *Caliphate* or to check the limits of the various Amirs. *Shehu* Uthman Dan Fuduye' died two years

⁴³ C.H. Robinson, *Specimens of Hausa Literature*, (London, 1896), pp.64-6.

⁴⁴ Umar al-Naqar, *The Pilgrimage Tradition in West Africa*, (Khartoum University Press, Khartoum), 1972, p.132.

⁴⁵ Murray Last, p.58.

⁴⁶ Muhammad Bello, p.190.

later on Sunday night 20 April 1817, at the age of 63.⁴⁷ Thus, the Sokoto *Caliphate* had been born out of the fundamental principles of *hijra* and *jihad*, and this theme will be repeated throughout the history of the empire as an eschatological belief saving them from the onslaught of the British invaders. The history of the *Caliphate* of Sokoto demonstrates a keen awareness on the part of the rulers of the events which would lead to their destruction. Thus, the rulers attempted to implement policies which would counter the blameworthy characteristics in the government which *Shehu* Uthman foretold about. For this reason some mention must be given to the rule of the *Caliphs* after the *Shehu* up until the appearance of the 'hour of the Christians' in 1903.



The tomb (*habbaren*) of *Shehu* Uthman Dan Fuduye`, *rahimuhu Allah*, in Sokoto Nigeria

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⁴⁷ _ Gidado ibn Laima, f.75

III. A Brief Overview of the *Caliphs* of the Sokoto *Caliphate* and the Consolidation of the State

There is no need to give a detailed history of each of the *Caliphs* because that is outside the scope of this study. However, in order to demonstrate that the belief of the '*hour of the Christians*' was a persistent idea throughout the long history of the *Caliphate*, it would be necessary to briefly discuss the history of the eleven *Caliphs* after *Shehu* Uthman Dan Fuduye'. This is important because it will prove that it was common knowledge that the Europeans would come and conquer the *Caliphate*, and that the policy in response to the '*hour of the Christians*' had already been developed and transmitted from generation to generation until that fateful moment of March 15, 1903.

Muhammad Bello 1817-1837:

On Tuesday, April 22, 1817 the officials of the Sokoto *Caliphate* gave the oath of allegiance to Muhammad Bello. Although there were brothers of his who were older and helpers of the *Shehu* who were senior to him, Bello was chosen as *Caliph* based upon a clear directive from the *Shehu*. This was because Bello was endowed with extraordinary intellectual abilities and military competence which distinguished him from his colleagues.⁴⁸ His rule was distinguished for its expansionism, security, prosperity and justice. Like his father, Bello was a scholar and prolific writer who is reported to have written extensively on every branch of the Islamic sciences. During his rule he established the primacy of Islam and continued the reform movement which his father had initiated in Hausaland. One of his contemporaries who had visited him from Senegambia said about him:

"He disseminated learning among the people and showed great respect to scholars by being kind and generous towards them. For this reason scholars came to him from every direction and region and they refused to part from him."⁴⁹

Hajj Sa'id goes on to state that the *Caliphate* thrived because of the patience and compassion which Bello showed to his subjects and the scrupulous concern he showed for their properties.⁵⁰ *Shehu* Uthman recognized this trait in his son when he advised his followers to study the books of Bello because he was mainly concerned with the political affairs of the community.⁵¹ Among Bello's first treatise on politics was his famous *Usul's-Siyasa*.

This small treatise was written during the rule of the *Shehu*, around 1807 when Bello was 27 years old.⁵² It was written in order to assist the Amir of Katsina, Umar Dullaji on the principles of government and the obligation upon government of rendering community service and public works. He said:

"The amir, imam or wali should provide public amenities for his subjects for their worldly and spiritual benefits. To this end, he should encourage the artisans, and cultivate the craftsmen who are indispensable to the people, such as farmers, smiths, tailors, dyers, physicians, carpenters and every sort of profession which contributes to the proper order of the world.

⁴⁸ _ Muhammad Bello, p. 212.

⁴⁹ _ Hajj Sa'id, *Tarikh Sokoto*, ed. O.V. Houdas, (Paris, 1901), p.196.

⁵⁰ _ *Ibid.*, 197.

⁵¹ _ Uthman Dan Fuduye', *Najm'l-Ikhwaan*, manus., ff. 148-9.

⁵² _ Muhammad Bello, *Usul's-Siyasa*, manus., f.56.

These professionals should be apportioned to every village and region."⁵³

One of his most famous books written while he was ruler was his Ghayth'l-Wabl fi Sirat al-Imam al-'Adl. In it he outlines that justice is the foundation and sole aim of government:

"How can justice not be important when anyone occupied with learning or earning cannot do without the security and prosperity which results from the functions of just government?"⁵⁴

Muhammad Bello reflected his concern for the public interest of the *Caliphate* in his every day supervision and writings. He embodied the ideals which *Shehu* Uthman established in his students concerning government, personal life and in eschatological beliefs. One of the leading proofs for this transmission of ideals is in the acute attentiveness which Bello showed towards the expectation of the '*hour of the Christians*'. He was well aware of the prophecies of his father and directed government officials under his authority to remain alert for the 'signs' which would precede it. In a letter of Muhammad Bello to the *Amir* of Adamawa, Modibo Adamu, he said;

". . .the matter with which you left us That is dispatching troops to the south of Wadai and the south of Fur in the direction of the Nile River: you are to do your utmost in sending spies to those lands. For our Shaykh, may Allah be pleased with him, indicated to us that his *jama`aat* would migrate in that direction before the appearance of the Mahdi in order to follow him and give him the oath of allegiance."⁵⁵

It is clear from the above that Bello was so influenced by the prophecy of the *Shehu* that he utilized officials of the state to be on the look out for all signs that would indicate the coming of the European colonizers and the subsequent appearance of the Mahdi. The belief in the Mahdi for the people and officials of the Sokoto was perhaps the most explosive idea in the cementing and consolidation of the state. For this ideology had the ability to unite the *Caliphate* around a central rallying call that would have charismatic affect upon the people over long periods of time. It also had the affect of connecting the revolutionaries of the *Caliphate* with the appearance of the 'ideal' Islamic government which was foretold by Prophet Muhammad to be established in the end of time. Muhammad Bello mentioned in his Infaq'l-Maysur that *Shehu* Uthman Dan Fuduye' told him that his *jihad* and reform would not cease until it reached the Mahdi.⁵⁶ Thus, Bello made it a government policy to keep alive the idea of the appearance of the Mahdi and the '*hour of the Christians*'. An example of how Bello treated the idea of the presence of European Christian in his land was demonstrated when in 1824 an Englishman, Hugh Clapperton, visited the empire.⁵⁷ Adeleye points out how Bello treated Clapperton warmly on his first visit and gave him a commercial agreement designed to place Sokoto and England on sound commercial footing.⁵⁸ However, on Clapperton's return trip to Africa, he was involved with selling firearms to one of Sokoto's enemies. As a result of this Bello and the officials of Sokoto regarded all European traders from

⁵³ Ibid., f.23.

⁵⁴ Omar Bello, The Political Thought of Muhammad Bello: 1781-1837 As Revealed in His Arabic Writings, More Especially al-Ghayth al-Wabl fi Sirat al-Imam al-'Adl, Ph.D. thesis, (London, 1983) p. 340.

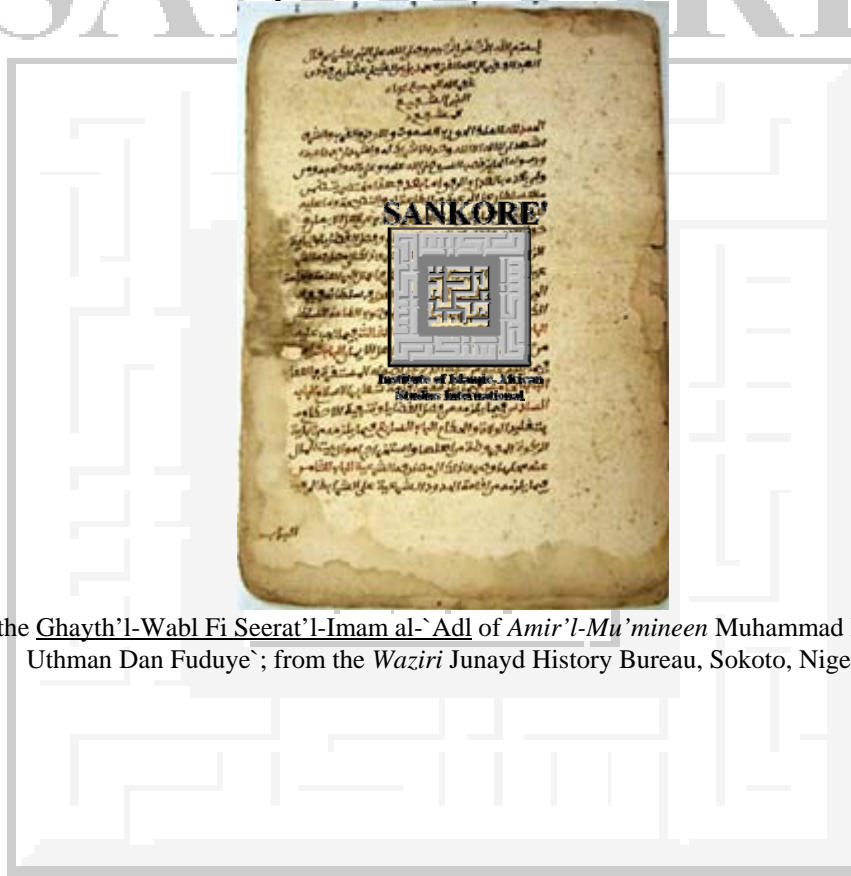
⁵⁵ Umar al-Naqar, p.78.

⁵⁶ Muhammad Bello, Infaq, p. 105.

⁵⁷ R.A. Adeleye, p.120.

⁵⁸ Ibid.

England as spies whose aim was to conquer his government as they had done in India.⁵⁹ There is no doubt that Bello was influenced by the beliefs of his father *Shehu* Uthman in allowing only commercial concessions to the British and treating them as protected people (*ahl'l-amaan*). Bello clearly saw himself as the link between *Shehu* Uthman and the Awaited Mahdi because most of his government policies to the Emirates of the east were geared in that direction. These ideas along with the concepts of justice, knowledge, piety, the supremacy of the public interests and mutual consultation were some of the political values which Bello saw as being essential to the harmony, development and continuity of the *Caliphate*.⁶⁰ Muhammad Bello died at the age of 58 after twenty-two years of active rule on Thursday 26 October, 1837.



Folio 2 of the *Ghayth'l-Wabl Fi Seerat'l-Imam al-`Adl of Amir'l-Mu`mineen Muhammad Bello ibn Shehu Uthman Dan Fuduye`*; from the *Waziri Junayd History Bureau*, Sokoto, Nigeria

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⁵⁹ R. Lander, *Record of Captain Clapperton's Last Voyage to Africa*, (London, 1830), vol.i,pp.251-2.

⁶⁰ Omar Bello, p. 10.

Abu Bakr Atiku 1837-1842

Seven days after the death of Muhammad Bello the oath of allegiance was given to his younger brother Abu Bakr Atiku in the town of Wurno.⁶¹ Like Bello, Abu Bakr was very learned in the Islamic sciences and had been actively involved in the consolidation of the *Caliphate* before his appointment. During the early stages of the *Caliphate*, Abu Bakr was stationed at a military garrison in the south-east called Bakura and ruled the region called Zamfara.⁶² It was in this way that Abu Bakr received many years of experience and training in the art of governance.

Abu Bakr Atiku was famous during his rule of commanding the good, forbidding evil and for frustrating the corrupt people of his time. In war he was extremely exacting and he was rigorous in executing legal punishments and imprisonment. The single mark of distinction which differentiated him from all the other twenty-seven children of the *Shehu* is that he alone possessed esoteric teachings from his father. It was related that the *Shehu* informed him of 115 different esoteric secrets, of which he only disclosed 15. Among these secrets which *Shehu* Uthman Dan Fuduye' imparted to him were the mystery of how Allah established the *Sokoto Caliphate*; the secrets of the times, its kingdoms and rulers; and the secrets of the length and duration of the *Sokoto Caliphate* and the signs of its downfall.⁶³



Folio 1 of the *Risaalat'l-Hijra* of Amir'l-Mu'mineen Abu Bakr ibn Shehu Uthman Dan Fuduye'; from the library of the Sultan of Maiurno, Republic of Sudan

Thus, *Caliph* Abu Bakr Atiku was well informed of his father's prophecies concerning the '*hour of the Christians*' and the blameworthy traits which would befall the government leading up to the British invasion. Perhaps one of the most important of the 15 secrets that *Amir'l-Mumineen* Abu Bakr Atiku did narrate was the secret regarding the '*Hijra to the East*', which delineates in detail what the *Shehu* foretold many years earlier in a book he called *ar-Risaalat*

⁶¹ Waziri Junayd ibn Muhammad al-Bukhari, *Dabt'l-Multqataat*, manus.,

⁶² Murray Last, pp.43-44.

⁶³ A.H.M. Kirk-Greene, p. 24.

In the name of Allah the Beneficent the Merciful, may Allah bless our master Muhammad, his family and Companions and give them peace.

This is the letter of *Amir'l-Mu'mineen* Abu Bakr, may Allah be merciful to him. It is from us to you with greetings and peace. To continue: My brothers you should know that most of the people of the *jama`at* who were contemporary with our father, the *Shehu* were preoccupied with this world's life from asking him about some of the secret affairs of the future, which was imperative for them to ask him about. Heedlessness seduced them from that until the *Shehu* passed away, may Allah be pleased with him. As a result, the people of the government regretted his when he passed away.

There were those who were contemporary with my brother, the *Amir'l-Mu'mineen* Muhammad Bello. They too were heedless from questioning him. They were preoccupied with their allotted share of this world's life from the religious issues and they procrastinated from asking about these hidden secrets until he too passed away, may Allah be merciful to him. They also regretted just as the first generation regretted.

Then there are those now in these times who are contemporary with me. Similarly, heedlessness and hard heartedness has prevented them from questioning me about these things until they too will regret when I am gone. However, they are unawares that no one will take my place who can inform them about what was taken from the *Shehu* directly or by mutual council, except from those who took from those who took from the *Shehu*. Nevertheless, I will inform them of at least one thing, which our *Shehu* informed us of. It is that the people of the *riboat* towns, who are firmly established there, will journey, either in person or by means of their descendants, to the Nile River and to the lands of the *Hijaz*. They are the true remnant of the affair of the *Shehu* and from them will emerge his light and *baraka*. They are those who will gather with the *Imam al-Mahdi* and give the oath of allegiance to him. With them will be the flags of the *Shehu* and they will have a momentous station with Allah.

As for those who abandon the people of the *riboat*, turning back to their original place, they will not be counted among them. This is because they were content to turn on their heels. Similarly, those who remain among these provincial villages here, they will not reach the Nile River. Rather, most of them will head in the direction of the land of the people of the West. They will reside there among the disbelievers until the one-eyed *Masih ad-Dajjal* comes out against them. We seek refuge with Allah from his evil. Amen.

Peace⁶⁴

From the above letter Atiku narrates the prophecy of the demise of the Sokoto Caliphate in the west and the reemergence of the authority, *baraka* and light in the East along the banks of the Nile River and in the two sacred places in Mecca and Medina. Atiku describes the materialism and worldly concerns which will be characteristic of the *Jama`at* when that time of the *hijra* is near. What is significant is that he narrates that the *Shehu* foretold that only those members of the *Jama`at* that were residing in the many *ribat* of Sokoto would make the *hijra*, but those who resided in the towns and cities which fought against the *Shehu* would be led astray and eventually head in the direction of the west and become subjugated by the west and this will persist until the appearance of the *Dajjal*.

⁶⁴ Abu Bakr Atiku, *Risaalat al-Hijra*, manuscript in possession of author.

Although his rule was very short, he never allowed a year to go by without being at the head of an army whose objectives were to protect the frontiers of the state or to extend the authority of the *Caliphate* into regions where the rule of Islam had not yet reached. In a short reign of five years he personally led 13 military campaigns. In the last campaign against Tsibiri in the autumn of 1842, Atiku was wounded and he died on the way back from an expedition in a place called Katura on Thursday.⁶⁵ He was the first of the *Caliphs* to die fighting in the way of Allah. He lived to be 60 years old and he ruled for only 5 years and 3 months.⁶⁶ In spite of the relative security that existed under Atiku, there is no doubt that his knowledge of the secrets of his father, the *Shehu*, enabled him and his officials to be on the watch for those signs that would preclude the coming of the Christians.

Ali Baba ibn Bello 1842-1859

The oath of allegiance was given to the nephew of Abu Bakr Atiku, Ali Baba ibn Muhammad Bello seven days after the death of Abu Bakr Atiku. The amirs of all the regions were present at the taking of the oath of allegiance. It took place in the mosque of the *Shehu* in Sokoto, between the noon and afternoon prayers.⁶⁷

Caliph Ali Baba was famous for his acceptability and friendliness which remained unchanged even after his appointment as *Caliph*. Baba was distinguished for his fine intellect, outstanding acumen, pertinent opinions and his forceful planning. He always gave people their due and he placed matters in their proper place. It was reported that he never met anyone he knew without a smile and companionship, whether that person was among the common or the elite. Whenever he came across a matter that involved difficulty and hardship for his subjects, he would avoid it out of compassion for his subjects. He was also famous for keeping the company of the learned men and jurists of the society over and above others. In all matters he sought their advice and counsel. He never gave a command nor laid down a prohibition except after consulting the scholars. Because of his good character he was loved by the whole of his nation. The sign of this love was the obedience he commanded from them in every region under his rule.

As ruler, Ali Baba was extremely active on the military front, conducting more than twenty campaigns in the course of the 17 years of his rule.⁶⁸ His rule was distinguished for the restoration of mosques and fortresses (*ribat*). He was the first to build the doors of the fortresses from iron and he was the first to establish special forces in the military.⁶⁹ Wherever he went, they accompanied him. Wherever he was stationed, there they were stationed. Ali Baba was constantly involved in fighting in the way of Allah until Allah took him from this earth. The Sokoto *Caliphate* was known during the reign of Ali Baba for its military strength, security, prosperity and the promotion of learning.

In spite of this relative security under the rule of Ali Baba, there was still constant vigilance for the appearance of the prophecies foretold by his grandfather, *Shehu* Uthman

⁶⁵ _ Waziri Junayd, *Dabt*, 80.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, p.81.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, f. 84.

Dan Fuduye'. During the later days of Ali's rule, there appeared strangers from the western lands who claimed that the time of the Mahdi had arrived.⁷⁰ They claimed that the Mahdi would appear in a year or two and that they were his supporters. Among these claimants were two men called Ibrahim Sharafudeen and Abdullahi ibn Ahmed.⁷¹ They claimed that they were on their way to meet the Mahdi in Mecca. And as a result many of the common people were stirred up by their words. Shaykh Sulayman ibn Ahmed then consulted Muhammad Dikku about them and he said that *Shehu* Uthman had informed him of their coming before they were born. He said that none of them nor those who followed them would reach Mecca. Rather their affair will melt away and they will be vanquished all together except a few from among them. The affair came about just as the *Shehu* foretold.⁷²

This event no doubt caused those who were versed in the prophecies of the *Shehu* to measure what these strangers had to say in accordance with what the *Shehu* had informed them. There was no time during the Sokoto *Caliphate* that the officials were not vigilant concerning the coming of the Christians and the appearance of the Mahdi. This vigilance protected them from the claims of charlatans who either claimed mahdship for themselves or claimed that they were his supporters.

The officials of the Sokoto *Caliphate* were well informed about the signs of the demise of their government. During the rule of Ali Baba none of these blameworthy characteristics became prevalent. The ruler, regional amirs and officials of the *Caliphate* were cognizant that only when the notables of the society become preoccupied with worldly matters and by leaving the *jihad* in the way of Allah would they be conquered by the forces of disbelief. Their reliance being the famous prophetic traditions of Prophet Muhammad, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, related on the authority of Abu Dawuud, "When you began chasing after objects of material value (that is profits), and when you take hold of the tail end of cattle, and when you become satisfied with cultivation and you leave the *jihad*.; Allah will impose upon you complete humiliation and it will not be removed from you until you return to your religion."⁷³ According to the interpretation of the scholars of prophetic tradition the above tradition means that when the Muslims become preoccupied with worldly matters and they leave the *jihad*, Allah will inflict them their enemies and they will not be rescued from that until they return to that which is obligatory from jihad, establishing the religion and giving victory to Islam.⁷⁴ It is clear from the above that the *Caliphate* under the rule of Ali Baba had no reason to fear because of the expansion that occurred under his rule and the spread of the reform, justice and security.

During Ali Baba's rule in 1853, a British spy named Dr. Henrich Barth came to Sokoto playing himself off as an Algerian Muslim named Abdal Karim.⁷⁵ He was able to obtain a commerce agreement from Ali Baba based upon the same concessions given to Clapperton by Bello in 1824.⁷⁶ It should be noted that Barth was turned away the previous year while he was traveling in Yola by the *Amir*, Lowal ibn Modibo Adam,

⁷⁰ Ibid., p.96.

⁷¹ Ibid.

⁷² Ibid.

⁷³ Modibo Abdullahi Bellel, *Risaalat wa'n-Naseehat*, manusc. f.14.

⁷⁴ Ibid., ff.14-5.

⁷⁵ R.A. Adeleye, *Power and Diplomacy*.

⁷⁶ Ibid., p.121.

because it was widely known that he was not Muslim and that he was acting on behalf of British imperialism.⁷⁷ This mistrust of the British by the officials of the Sokoto *Caliphate* reflected the caution against possible European designs against the sovereignty of the state. Consequently, the rule of Ali Baba, although marked with security and prosperity, still maintained a constant vigilance against the '*hour of the Christians*'. *Caliph* Ali Baba ibn Muhammad Bello died in the town of Wurno and was buried near his father, Muhammad Bello, on Friday 21 October, 1859.⁷⁸ The length of his rule was 17 years and he died at the age of 55.

Ahmed Zaruku ibn Abu Bakr Atiku 1859-1866

After the death of Ali Baba, the oath of allegiance was given to his cousin, Ahmed Zaruku ibn Abu Bakr Atiku, in the mosque of Wurno two days after the death of Ali Baba. This took place on Sunday 23 October 1859 in the presence of all the Amirs and officials.⁷⁹

After the oath of allegiance was given to Ahmed Zaruku, he gathered the officials of the state together and ordered them to adhere to the sunna and he prohibited them from following heretical innovations and destructive customs. It was during the first year of his rule that the British trading firms established themselves south of the *Caliphate* in a place called Lokoja.⁸⁰ British trading expeditions visited the capital of Nupe called Bida in 1863 and contracted trading treatise with the Amir, Muhammad Saba. These agreements were based upon the agreements which *Caliph* Ali Baba made with Barth in 1853. These British trading expeditions were made up of private business interest who were sponsored by the British government. This trickle of British economic impingement was the beginning of what was to become the wave of the '*hour of the Christians*'.

The rule of *Caliph* Ahmed Zaruku was characterized by the suppression of every injustice and the squelching of corruption. He made the market places and the roads secure from brigands and thieves. He inspected the condition of the craftsmen, manufacturers, professionals and traders; and supported them in their endeavors and restrained them from hoarding and unfair practices.

In spite of his strictness he was loved by the common nomadic tribes who lived on the outskirts of society. Prior to him being appointed as *Caliph*, he was the *amir* of Zamfara, which placed him over the nomadic Fulani clan called Sullebawa.⁸¹ The Sullebawa were known for being lawless and uncontrollable. In order to control them, Ahmed married the daughter of their chief, Muhammad Inna.⁸² The son from this union later became the chief of the Sullebawa. Given this position with the Sullebawa, Ahmed on becoming *Caliph* was able to persuade them to adhere to the laws of Islam and desist from their offenses. He further made them adhere to five regulations: [1] not to buy or sell farms; [2] not to take rewards for returning fugitive captives; [3] to obey the

⁷⁷ _ Henrich Barth, Travels and Discoveries in North and Central Africa, vol.II, 496-497.

⁷⁸ _ Murray Last, p.114n.

⁷⁹ _ Waziri Junayd, pp.93-4; and Murray Last, p.114.

⁸⁰ _ R.A. Adeleye, p.117.

⁸¹ _ Waziri Junayd, Dgbt, p.94.

⁸² _ Murray Last, p.117.

summons of the judges; [4] to obey the *Caliph's* and his officials' call to *jihad*; and [5] to honor and obey their *amirs* and chiefs.⁸³

The justice and equity of the ruler was well known. It was reported that when *Shehu* Uthman was in Sifawa he indicated and gave news of the coming of this grandson of his. He said, "He will be a man of *jihad* who will establish the *sunna*."⁸⁴ This prediction was also discussed by the daughter of the *Shehu*, Asma'u in one her Fulbe poems. Wherein she said that Ahmed always remained on the political and ideal path of *Shehu* Uthman Dan Fuduye', Muhammad Bello and Abu Bakr Atiku.⁸⁵ During his rule, he personally led 8 campaigns in the way of Allah. And like his uncle, Muhammad Bello, he built many military garrisons in order to secure the frontiers of the state. One of the fortresses called Chimola was used by Ahmed as his personal residence much like Muhammad Bello resided in Wurno. After a 7 year rule, Ahmed Zaruku died on 2 November 1866 in his *ribat* at Chimola.⁸⁶

Because of the overall security and prosperity that the state enjoyed under the rule of Ahmed Zaruku, the fear of the expected invasion of the European Christians was non-existent, although expected. The rulers as well as the subjects felt, justifiably so, that as long as the *sunna* of the Prophet Muhammad was in force, the religion was being adhered to, with the suppression of injustice and innovation; the state would always remain secure from destruction. A sign of that destruction being the invasion by the Christian powers.

One of the *Caliph's* best friends and trusted advisors, Shaykh Dan Tafa, used to inform Ahmed that the light of social justice and divine favor which flowed through the Sokoto *Caliphate* would come to an end at a certain period in time.⁸⁷ Shaykh Dan Tafa was a neighbor of *Caliph* Ahmed when he resided in his *ribat* at Chimola. A friendship seemed to have developed between them because of the level of learning of Dan Tafa. He was considered by some to be the most learned of the then present generation of the inhabitants of the Sokoto *Caliphate*.⁸⁸ Shaykh Dan Tafa wrote some 44 books on every branch of Islamic knowledge. One of these books was his Muddat'd-Dawla 'l-Uthmaniyya's-Sukutiyya wa Ma Lahaa Min'l-Muluuk, (The Duration of the Uthmani Sokoto Government and What It Encompasses From Political Power). In this book Dan Tafa tells of the divine favors which Allah had granted this Islamic community, the characteristics that would preserve its longevity and the decay and corruption that would lead to its decline and fall. Because of the respect Dan Tafa enjoyed from all the officials of the state, his pronouncements were valued and considered sound. The existence of such a scholar during the rule of *Caliph* Ahmed Zaruku only proves that there was no time in which the Sokoto *Caliphate* was not reminded of the messianic events that would lead to the decline of the state. The *Caliphate* was forever vigilant against those blameworthy qualities and against the '*hour of the Christians*' foretold by the *Shehu*. The

⁸³ Waziri Junayd, *Dabt*, p.94.

⁸⁴ Ibid. pp.94-95.

⁸⁵ Ibid.

⁸⁶ Murray Last, p.118.

⁸⁷ Shaykh Dan Tafa's full name was Abd'l Qadir ibn al-Mustafa and he was the grandson of Shehu Uthman from his oldest daughter Khadija and his chief scribe and secretary Malam al-Mustafa. It is alleged that Shaykh Dan Tafa inherited the mystical and esoteric knowledge of the Shehu which enabled him to know certain mysteries concerning the duration of the Sokoto empire. [see Muhammad Shareef, "The Life of Shaykh Dan Tafa: the Life and Times of One of Africa's Leading Scholars and Statesmen and A History of the Intellectual Traditions That Produced Him", (Sankore' Institute, Houston), 1994, pp.45-46.

⁸⁸ Henrich Barth, vol.4, p.101.

writings of Shaykh Dan Tafa along with the persistence of the prophecies of the *Shehu* concerning the above kept the officials of the state on the alert against decline. During the entire reign of *Caliph* Ahmed, the Inland Commercial Company slowly developed its economic activities in the southern most region of the *Caliphate* in Nupe.



The tomb (*harraren*) of Amir'l-Mu'mineen Ahmad Zaruku ibn Abu Bakr Atiku ibn *Shehu* Uthman Dan Fuduye` in Chimola, north of Sokoto

Ali Karami ibn Bello 1866-1867

After the death of *Caliph* Ahmed ibn Atiku in 1866, the authority was given to his cousin, Ali Karami ibn Muhammad Bello in the mosque of Chimola on 6 November 1866, four days after the demise of the former ruler.⁸⁹ Prior to his appointment, Ali Karami was the *amir* of a *ribat* called Isa, which was built to check the eastern borders of the *Caliphate* against the Gobirawa. For this reason he was given the title *sarkin gobir* (ruler of Gobir).⁹⁰ After Ali was appointed as *Caliph*, he moved his headquarters to the *ribat* of his father, Muhammad Bello, at Wurno. Ali was known before and after his appointment as a man of deep piety and sagacity. He inherited a state which was characterized by prosperity and security, which resulted in him not making military expeditions during his short rule. His rule lasted for only 11 months and 29 days. He died on Wednesday morning 13 October 1867 at the age of 60.⁹¹

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⁸⁹ Murray Last, p.119.

⁹⁰ Ibid.,

⁹¹ Waziri Junayd, Dabt, p.97.

Ahmed Rufai ibn Shehu Uthman Dan Fuduye' 1867-1873

After the death of Ali Karami, the authority was assumed by his uncle, Ahmed Rufai ibn *Shehu* Uthman. The oath of allegiance was given to him 5 days after the death of his nephew in the mosque of Wurno, on Monday 18 October 1867.⁹² As his name indicates he was one of the youngest sons of the *Shehu*. Before his appointment he was the *amir* of the *ribat* of Silame.⁹³ It was his youth which caused him to be passed over by his nephews in the previous appointments for *Caliph*. Nonetheless, after his appointment, he moved his headquarters to the place of his noble father at Sokoto, where he governed the state.

According to Waziri Junayd he was a man of great generosity and nobility. The good trait of compassion was his by nature, being known to lower the wing of mercy to all his subjects. He was prone to much shyness and because of his equity, he became a recourse to the destitute. He was held in respect by the old and the young, the noblemen and the common men. He never looked down on anyone whose shortcomings were apparent, but he concealed them. He was humble, helpful and tolerant. These noble traits can be seen even today in his descendants who reside on the banks of the Blue Nile in Maiurno.⁹⁴

When Ahmed moved back to Sokoto, he had the mosque of Sokoto renovated and improved.⁹⁵ His rule was distinguished for its peace and security. During his rule of over 5 years he made only three excursions out of Sokoto.⁹⁶ The first was in order to rebuild the *ribat* of Silame which was sacked during the revolt of Kebbi.⁹⁷ The second was in order to route some animists from a village called Kaiama. And the third was in order to attend the funeral of his youngest brother Isa ibn *Shehu* Uthman Dan Fuduye' in Kware.⁹⁸

Unlike the earlier *Caliphs*, Ahmed Rufai did not conduct many military expeditions. In spite of this, he fulfilled the other major duties of his office, like commanding the good and forbidding evil; executing the legal punishments for crimes; and restoring the mosques and Qur'an schools of the state. He was renown for his learning and erudition well before he was appointed as *Caliph*. In 1865 when he was 51 years old, he composed his Tanbih'l-Umma Fi Taa`at Allah, wa Taa`at'r-Rasul wa Taa`at'l-Umara (Advice to the Community Regarding Obedience to Allah, the Messenger and Obedience to Those Who Possess Authority, and Advice Regarding the Benefits of the *Ribats*). This book was a testimony to his scholarship and ability as a leader. As the title indicates, this book was concerned with reminding the people of the obligation of obeying Allah in His Qur'an; obedience to the Messenger in his *sunna*; and adhering to the obedience of the *amirs*, judges and the *Caliph*. It also contained a section regarding the divine rewards of those who reside in the frontier towns and fortresses protecting the

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⁹² Ibid., p.98.

⁹³ Hajj Sa`id, Tarikh, p.212.

⁹⁴ Waziri Junayd, Dabt, pp.98-99. Here I refer to a descendent of Ahmad Rufai, Shaykh Abu Bakr Busambu, one of the leading men of Maiurno from whom I studied and read several books of Shehu Uthman Dan Fuduye' and from whom I received many manuscripts. He is a shy man of superb character and genuine asceticism whose words are few and who teaches by his behavior and excellent courtesy.

⁹⁵ Ibid., p. 98.

⁹⁶ Ibid., p. 98-99.

⁹⁷ R.A. Adeleye, Power and Diplomacy, p. 68.

⁹⁸ Waziri Junayd, Dabt, f. 98.

security of the state. This book was copied and delivered to all the officials to be read the common as well as the elite.⁹⁹

Four years after his appointment as *Caliph*, he wrote another book called Tanbih'l-Umma Fi Wujuub Li Taa`at'l-A'imat wa Fi Ba`yat Li'l-Imam `Ala 'l-Kitaab wa Sunna (Guidance to the Community Regarding the Obligation of Obedience to the Rulers and the Obligation of the Oath of Allegiance to the *Caliph* in Accordance With the Book and the *Sunna*). This book dealt with the obligation upon the citizens of the *Caliphate* of obeying all those in authority and with the legal foundations for the oath of allegiance to the *Caliph* based upon the Book and the *Sunna*. It covered the rights and obligations of the leaders and the rights and obligations of the subjects. Because, Ahmed wrote this work while he was ruling, there is no doubt that it became a handbook to be studied by the officials of his day.

Another interesting work of this *Caliph* which demonstrates the persistent belief in the prophecies regarding the 'hour of the Christians' and the eschatological beliefs concerning the end of time, was a work written by him called `Alaamaat Khuruuj'l-Mahdi (The Signs of the Appearance of the Mahdi). From first glance at this work, one would be persuaded to think that it was concerned with the popular ideas transmitted by the scholars regarding the signs of the end of time. Books of this nature had been written by African scholars from the 15 century until the time of *Shehu* Uthman Dan Fuduye'. During the time of the *Shehu*, he and his supporters wrote a substantial amount of books on this subject. The reason for this was the commonly accepted belief that the end of time had approached. Thus, the book by *Caliph* Ahmed Rufai, outwardly resembles this variety of authorship. On closer examination this concise work turns out to be a warning and a series of prophecies written along the line of the prophecies which emerged from *Shehu* Uthman Dan Fuduye'.¹⁰⁰ In this work Ahmed Rufai did not state whether these signs were related to him by someone or if they were the result of his own spiritual exercise. However, one thing is certain is that the prophecies related in this work are exclusively concerned with the social upheaval and tribulations which would occur among the people of the Sokoto *Caliphate*.¹⁰¹ It for this reason, that this work is so important. It gives evidence of the idea that the *Caliphate* founded by *Shehu* Uthman and his community would go through a decay that would lead to the universal event of the appearance of the Mahdi. This document made manifest the awareness on the population of the coming of the European Christians. It tells of a series of events that would happen consecutively and would finally culminate in the appearance of the Awaited Mahdi who would defeat the forces of evil and disbelief and renew the religion of Islam all over the world. He says that some of the signs are:

". . . Legal judgments of Allah based upon the truth will be stripped away by the judges . . . At this point Allah will send some of His oppressive slaves (Europeans) against the Muslims who will conquer them and govern them in accordance with their twisted ways. They will govern the Muslims with falsehood and in contradiction to the laws of the Qur'an and the *Sunna*. These disbelievers will reside among them and afflict them with their allurements and ordeals until

⁹⁹ Murray Last, p. 121.

¹⁰⁰ Ahmad Rufai ibn Shehu Uthman Dan Fuduye', `Alaamaat Khuruuj 'l-Mahdi, manus. ff. 2-5.

¹⁰¹ Ibid.

when the Muslims of the *Caliphate* will be divided into three groups. Two of these groups will follow the way of the disbelieving (Europeans), while the third will be in great fear, misery and affliction until their trials will reach up to thirty-seven . . ."102

The above quote shows striking resemblance to the prophecies of the *Shehu* which were related by *Caliph* Abu Bakr Atiku in his letter to the Amir of Gwandu. In this letter Abi Bakr states how the *Shehu* foretold that the collaborators among the Sokoto officials who would refuse the *hijra* (exodus) to the east would follow the way of the Anti-Christ.¹⁰³ The similarity between the prophecies of the *Shehu* and this work by Ahmed Rufai demonstrates the persistence of an eschatological belief which transcends time and functions as a defense mechanism of the first order in alerting the state against its destruction. *Caliph* Ahmed Rufai went on to mention in his work;

" . . .and realize O brother, that the Amir of the Sudan will head in the direction of the East. And realize that the proof for this movement to the East will be the great number of trials in his land (Sokoto). . ."104

The above statement resembles the *Shehu's* "Song of the Journey to the East" when he said, "When the ruler of the Muslims goes to Mecca, we must pray, and make ready our goods to go with him."¹⁰⁵ In the above statement by Ahmed Rufai, however, he uses the term *amir's-sudaan* (the ruler of the Sudan). This term referred to the royal title given to whoever was the ruler of the *ribat* at Wurno. The first to be given the title was Muhammad Bello in 1809. It was then given to Bello's eldest son Ali Baba and in turn to Ali's eldest son, Umar. After him it was given to the descendants of Abu Bakr Atiku.¹⁰⁶ The last person to hold the royal office of *amir's-sudan* at the eve of the European invasion was Muhammad Bello Mai Wurno the son of the last *Caliph* Attahiru. His name *Mai Wurno* in the language of Hausa meant '*amir* of Wurno'. Thus, Muhammad Bello Mai Wurno was the *amir's-sudan* described in both the song of the *Shehu* and the book of *Caliph* Ahmed Rufai. It is for this reason that Attahiru appointed him as the *Caliph* to lead the *hijra* to the east. This will be discussed in more detail in the final chapters of this study. In Ahmed Rufai's book he dealt with many signs that would lead to the appearance of the Mahdi and just Islamic rule throughout the world.

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¹⁰² *Ibid.*, f. 2.

¹⁰³ See note # 32.

¹⁰⁴ Ahmad Rufai, f. 5.

¹⁰⁵ C.H. Robinson, p. 64.

¹⁰⁶ Murray Last, p. 100, note 41.



Folio 1 of the *'Alaamaat Khurruj al-Mahdi* of Amir'l-Mumineen Ahmad ar-Rufai ibn Shehu Uthman Dan Fuduye`, from the archives of Waziri Junayd of Sokoto, Nigeria

The rule of *Caliph* Ahmed Rufai was distinguished for its overall security and ease which prevailed throughout the country. Umar ibn Muhammad al-Bukhari said in a poem praising this illustrious *Caliph*:

"You have filled the lands of Allah with security And in them
no traveler fears thieves nor robbers."¹⁰⁷

The trust which Ahmed Rufai earned from his subjects remained until his death in his home which was adjacent to the compound of his father, *Shehu* Uthman Dan Fuduye`. This occurred in the middle of March 1873. He was 61 years old and ruled for 5 years, 6 months and 23 days.¹⁰⁸

Abu Bakr ibn Bello 1873-1877

After the death of *Caliph* Ahmed Rufai, the authority was given to his nephew, Abu Bakr ibn Muhammad Bello, on Sunday morning 18 March 1873.¹⁰⁹ He was a highly respected, just and truthful person. He made commanding the good and forbidding evil the hallmark of his *Caliphate* and was diligent concerning the *jihad* to secure the state. During his rule, he conducted 3 campaigns fighting for the cause of Allah and securing the empires frontiers. *Caliph* Abu Bakr ibn Bello was fearful of Allah, equitable in all matters and courageous in his religion. Even before his appointment as *Caliph*, he was famous among the people for his personal piety and austerity. After his appointment he never consumed anything except from the sweat of his own hands. He refused to take any pay from the public treasury nor from the wealth obtained through warfare. This was so in spite of the fact that he ruled a government which covered some 600 thousand square miles. Rather, *Caliph* Abu Bakr ibn Bello distributed this wealth to those who had a greater right on it and the remainder he spent increasing the amount of the weapons and materials for the defense of the state.¹¹⁰ Like his famous grandfather, *Shehu* Uthman, Abu Bakr ibn Bello used to earn his living by making rope and selling it in the markets.

¹⁰⁷ Waziri Junayd, f. 99.

¹⁰⁸ Ibid.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid., f. 100.

¹¹⁰ Uthman al-Fulani as-Sukuti, *Tarikh'l-Khilaafa 'l-'Uthmaniyya's-Sukutiyya*, manus., f. 7.

Thus, providing a livelihood for himself and his family.¹¹¹ Because of the personal piety of this *Caliph*, the state enjoyed some measure of security. But this security was the direct result of the vigilance of the government officials against those blameworthy traits which would erode the state. The grid by which the officials of the *Caliphate* utilized to measure the success of the rulers was the tradition of Prophet Muhammad was stated that the characteristics of a government is determined by the characteristics of the ruler.¹¹² The fact that *Caliph* Abu Bakr ibn Bello chose not to take from the public treasury and to be content with the earnings which he obtained from the work of his hands was an example which the regional amirs and officials of the *Caliphate* could emulate and applied in their own lives. This policy was what enabled the public treasury to be full for the sole purpose of providing for the orphans, widows, the destitute and wayfarers. It also made revenues available for the restoration of the roads, mosques and educational centers. Finally, moneys were utilized to improve the effectiveness of the military by importing weapons, investing into craftsmen who manufactured weapons, the breeding of horses for the cavalry and the restoration and building of fortress towns (*ribat*). The personal austerity of the leaders during the rule of Abu Bakr ibn Bello saved the common people as well as the professionals from being overburdened by unjust taxation. This can be taken as a lesson for governments of our times, where the order of the day is for government officials to increase their salaries, depleting the revenues of the state and forcing these 'fat' civil servants to create new taxes to further burden the people.

The austerity with which Abu Bakr ibn Bello lived was, no doubt, the result of he desire for the next life. However, it must be pointed out that good government exist when there is little or no envy of leadership on the part of the subjects. this can only occur when the leaders possess no outward material wealth which exceeds that which the subjects possess. A more cogent factor, however, is the fact that the prophecies of the *Shehu* concerning the decline of the *Caliphate* and the '*hour of the Christians*', were determinative in causing the *Caliph* to live in such a manner. For only with the increase in oppression and injustice, and the death of the esteemed sunna, would the *Caliphate* become vulnerable to foreign invasion and internal insecurity.¹¹³ It was only after the death of *Caliph* Abu Bakr ibn Bello that the *Caliphate* witnessed the gradual economic and political infiltration from the Europeans.¹¹⁴ *Caliph* Abu Bakr ibn Muhammad Bello died on Wednesday 16 March 1877 at the age of 68 and was buried near his father, Muhammad Bello, in Wuruno.

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¹¹¹ *Ibid.*

¹¹² Muhammad Bello, *Usul*, f. 31.

¹¹³ Ahmad Rufai, ff. 1-3.

¹¹⁴ R.A. Adeleye, p. 118.

Mu`adh ibn Muhammad Bello 1877-1881

After the death of Abu Bakr ibn Bello, the oath of allegiance was given over to his full brother Mu`adh ibn Bello¹¹⁵ a few days after the death of Abu Bakr. It was given to him in the chief mosque of Wurno.¹¹⁶

What is interesting about this period is that Mu`adh was among the last of the descendants of Muhammad Bello ibn *Shehu* to hold the *Caliphate*. His nephew, Umar ibn Ali ibn Bello was the last. The authority thereafter would be passed through the descendants of Abu Bakr Atiku ibn *Shehu*, the third *Caliph*. This is significant because it was Abu Bakr Atiku who had been taught the 115 secrets from his father *Shehu* Uthman. As mentioned previously, these secrets included the duration of the *Caliphate* and the esoteric teachings which would maintain its longevity. This could have been the deciding factor in placing the authority in the house of Atiku. Perhaps transfer of authority to the house of Atiku was one of the 115 secrets which it is said Abu Bakr died with.¹¹⁷ More time will be given to this subject in the later chapters.

Among the impressive traits about *Caliph* Mu`adh is what had been related by some of the mystics and officials that the spirit of *Shehu* Uthman Dan Fuduye' was present at the giving of authority of all the previous *Caliphs*. This was so with Mu`adh, except that it was said that he was the last *Caliph* for whom the spirit of the *Shehu* was present.¹¹⁸ This is important because now we come to official and spiritual recognition that things were about to go through a major change for the worst. The high ideals which characterized the Sokoto *Caliphate* and the era of reform (*tajdid*) which it had established for the whole of the *Bilad's-Sudan* was coming to an end.

Caliph Mu`adh was a man of deep piety, kindness and leniency. Prior to his appointment as *Caliph*, Mu`adh acted as assistant governor of the capital Sokoto whenever the *Caliph* was away.¹¹⁹ Sokoto was always his place of residence making him the only *Caliph* who had not held a previous position of authority over one of the regions.¹²⁰ He was given to much shyness, but he was strict in the executing of government. He was a man of justice and did not shirk from the military responsibilities of maintaining the security of the *Caliphate*. An example of this was when the pagans of Gobir led an army which attacked and captured the town of Sabon Birni. The *Caliph* was able to raise an army which dealt effectively with this revolt.¹²¹ *Caliph* Mu`adh was responsible for rebuilding the protective walls of some of the towns, among them the town of Denge.¹²²

Overall the *Caliphate* of Mu`adh was marked with increasing instability and revolt on the part of many of the past conquered regions. During his rule also the French under the guise of the White Fathers began their attempt to convert Muslims to Christianity throughout the Niger River areas.¹²³ Also the French government sponsored

¹¹⁵ Mu`adh was the son of Muhammad Bello from his wife A`isha, the daughter of Umar al-Kammi, the close friend and colleague of Shehu Uthman Dan Fuduye'. [See Murray Last, *Sokoto Caliphate*, p. 122.].

¹¹⁶ Waziri Junayd, *Dabt*, f. 101.

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*, f. 76

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.*, f. 101

¹¹⁹ Henrich Barth, Vol. 4, p. 179.

¹²⁰ Murray Last, p. 122.

¹²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 116.

¹²² *Ibid.*, 123.

¹²³ R.A. Adeleye, p. 124.

trading group called the Compagnie Francaise de l-Afrique Equatoriale was making concerted efforts to spread its commercial activities around the Upper Niger and the Benue.¹²⁴ The Germans during this same period formulated the African Society as a commercial trading group and agent of German imperialism. This effort was led by a German named Von Edward Karl Flegel.¹²⁵ Faced with French imperialists interests in the west and German interests in the east, the British under the newly amalgamated National African Company redoubled its efforts to control all trade out of the regions of the Sokoto *Caliphate*.¹²⁶

This was the dilemma which *Caliph* found himself in around 1880, with European Christian powers surrounding his government like wolves around a prey. The attempt by competing European countries to monopolize and control trade led to attempts at European political control over Africa. The officials of the state had been receiving increasing news from new emigrants who were fleeing French armies from the west. This no doubt heightened the innate feelings among the *Caliphate* that '*hour of the Christians*' had arrived.

At this point some mention should be made of the extent of the French conquest in the western *Bilad's-Sudan*. In 1852 Emperor Napoleon III set up the Second Empire with his administration based upon the support of the French middle class and the Catholic Church. Napoleon III saw himself as the protector of Christian beliefs all over the world.¹²⁷ It was under his authority that France entered into the colonial scramble for Africa with the objective, "to spread French Catholic culture and civilization".¹²⁸ Two of France's leading colonial officers in the pacification of the *Bilad's-Sudan* were Frederic Carrere and Paul Holle and in the book which they co-authored they reflect this vehement Christian fundamentalism succinctly:

"In these parts, as elsewhere, the mission of our country seems higher; is it not to march at the head of progress in initiating the peoples to civilization? How will France be the foremost Catholic power if, by all means, preaching, war, commerce, she does not lead the people with whom God has put her into contact, to moral and material benefit?"¹²⁹

This view became the world view and public opinion of the French in all her colonies. Islam was an enemy to French occupation in North as well as West Africa. In the 1830s the Algerian Muslim leader Shaykh Abd 'l-Qadir led a fierce resistance to French rule in Algeria. It was a war of one culture against another and the French saw theirs as superior. This same attitude is what caused the French to begin their wars against the various Islamic Emirates which existed during this time in western *Bilad's-Sudan*. Thus, with this prejudice against Islamic African civilization the French conquered the *Caliphate* first established by al-Hajj Umar Tal. Al-Hajj Umar was a Tijani sufi leader who led a successful *jihād* in the Senegambia region. The French military pacification of Hamdullahi began in the 1860s and by 1890 the French had captured the capital city of the *Caliphate* called Segu.¹³⁰

¹²⁴ Ibid., p. 124.

¹²⁵ Ibid., p. 125.

¹²⁶ Ibid., p. 125-127.

¹²⁷ Mervyn Hiskett, *The Development of Islam in West Africa*, (Longman, New York), 1984, p. 212.

¹²⁸ Ibid.

¹²⁹ Frederic Carrere & Paul Holle, *De la Senegambie Francaise*, (Paris, 1955), p. 3.

¹³⁰ Mervyn Hiskett, pp. 230-231.

Another Muslim leader of a small emirate which proved to be a threat to French interest in the Senegambia was Shaykh Maba Diakhou. Shaykh Maba was a Qadiri and Tijani sufi leader who established his rule over the Soninke in an area called Badibu in 1850. By 1862 the French invaded his emirate and defeated him at Kaolak and later at Kwinella in 1863. However, it was not until 1867 that the French were able to completely immobilize the revolutionary forces of Shaykh Maba Diakhou.¹³¹

After this movement there arose out of Futa Toro Shaykh Ahmadu Ba of Jolof in 1869. He, like al-Hajj Umar and Shaykh Maba, was a devout Tijani leader who was extremely critical of French Christian presence in Senegambia. His jihad was initially successful, haven defeated the people of Koki and the Wolof kingdom of Cayor. In 1870 the French sent an army against him and he defeated them.¹³² Shaykh Ahmadu Ba later defeated the Wolof kingdom of Jolof and began to consolidate his Islamic emirate based upon classical Islamic principles. In 1875, the French with the assistance of Wolof, Cayor and Koki armies defeated Shaykh Ahmadu Ba and his Islamic forces. However, the rapid islamization which took place after the defeat of this emirate was due to the reform efforts of Shaykh Ahmadu Ba.¹³³

There were many other Islamic emirates and *Caliphates* who clashed with the French and lost. Among them were the descendants of Shaykh Ahmadu Lobo the founder of the Qadiri Islamic emirate of Massina. There was the Shaykh Mahmadu Lamine of Goundiourou; and Almamy Samory Ture of Konyan and Kankan. Each one of these Islamic resistance movements saw the French not as 'French', but as 'Christian'. They saw their invasion as a religious and culture invasion.¹³⁴ As these different emirates were conquered by the French many of their subjects as well as their leaders fled eastward into the countries controlled by the Sokoto *Caliphate*. It was from these emigrants that the Muslims learned of the aims and objectives of the French Christians.

The French prejudice view of Islam in Africa was shared by both the British and Germans. In 1864 a German Christian missionary named Gerhardt Rohlf traveled into Borno and Adamawa. He was reported to have advocated direct military occupation of the Jos Plateau in Hausaland 'so that a strong barrier could be placed against the farther spread of Islam . . .'.¹³⁵ Of course he meant the farther spread of Islam deeper into the German occupied zones south of Adamawa. The British under the Evangelical Keswick movement considered belief in Christ as the only salvation for the Muslims of Hausaland. For this reason missionaries accompanied many of the British commercial teams deep into Muslim areas. Vociferous Christian fundamentalists, like Walter Miller, had great influence upon colonial officers such as Gen. Lugard. The colonialist and the missionaries wanted no less than the total destruction of Islam as a living faith; and its replacement by the wholesale conversion of Muslims to Christianity.¹³⁶

This was the type of tension which existed during the vital period of Mu`adh's rule. This *Caliph* had been receiving news of the Christian invasion from all the surrounding countries. There was no doubt as to the purpose and objective of Christians

¹³¹ _ Ibid., p.232.

¹³² _ Ibid., p.234.

¹³³ _ Ibid., p.235.

¹³⁴ _ Ibid., pp.224-225.

¹³⁵ _ Gerhardt Rohlf, *Quer durch Afrika*, (Leipzig, 1897), vol.1, pp. 88-87.

¹³⁶ _ Mervyn Hiskett, *Development*, p.222.

in Africa. *Caliph* Mu`adh ruled for 4 years and nine months and died on Wednesday late September of 1881.

Umar ibn Ali ibn Bello 1881-1891

Prior to Umar being appointed as *Caliph*, he held the royal office of Sarkin Sudan (the ruler of Sudan) since 1842 and was the *amir* of Wurno.¹³⁷ As mentioned previously, this would be the same title given to the leader who would lead the *hijra* to the east. Thus, this could have been the determining factor in appointing the Sarkin Sudan, Umar, as the *Caliph* of the state. Prior to his appointment as Sarkin Sudan, he was the *amir* of the ribat in Shinaka northeast of Wurno.¹³⁸

Caliph Umar was known for providing food for the destitute and those strangers traveling from different lands.¹³⁹ In spite of the generosity of this *Caliph*, the security and maintenance of the state began to decline. This breakdown was due to *Caliph* Umar's increasing demand for more revenues from the public treasury. Burdon goes on to suggest that there was some financial irregularities under *Caliph* Umar.¹⁴⁰ Clearly, *Caliph* Umar did not share the personnel austerity which the earlier *Caliphs* were renown. *Caliph* Umar was preoccupied through out his rule with trying to put down the many revolts which rose up in many regions of the *Caliphate*. Among them were the revolts of Sabon Birni, Argungu, Madarunfa and Kaura Namoda.¹⁴¹ The most devastating revolt which emerged during the rule of Umar was the Nilotic Mahdist movement of Muhammad Ahmed. In 1881 Muhammad Ahmed emerged in the Nilotic Sudan with the same reform movement which had been developed by *Shehu* Uthman in the earlier part of the century. Most of the supporters of the Mahdi of the Nilotic Sudan were emigrant Muslims from west Africa. Eventually, the Mahdi made contact with one of the cousins of *Caliph* Umar named Hayatu ibn Sa`id ibn Bello and persuaded him to accept him as the legitimate Mahdi foretold by the *Shehu*. Muhammad Ahmed then appointed him as his representative over the Sokoto *Caliphate* and all the descendants of the *Shehu*. In his letter to Hayatu, Muhammad Ahmad al-Mahdi said:

“We have written the appropriate proclamations to all the *Amirs* of Sokoto summoning them to obey Allah ta`ala and informing them of your appointment as our agent (*`aamil*) over them. This proclamation will be sent to you by our noble messenger our beloved Muhammad al-`Arabi.”¹⁴²

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¹³⁷ Murray Last, *Sokoto Caliphate*, p.123.

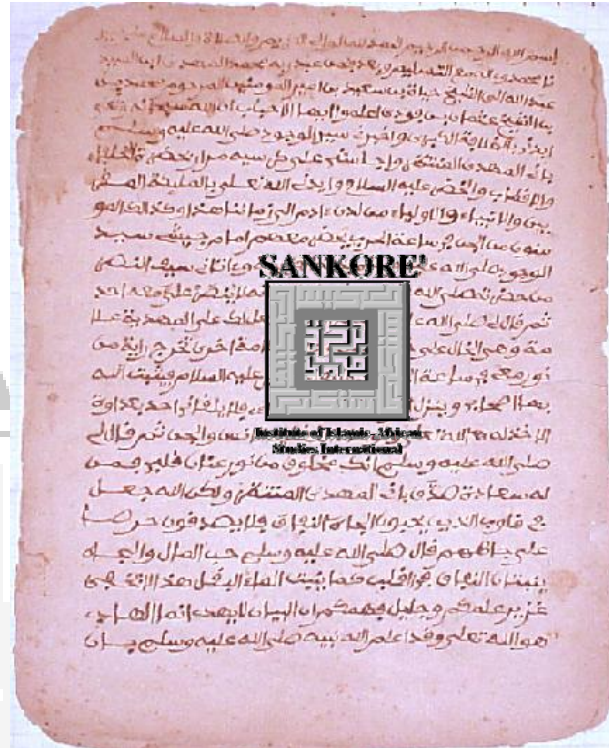
¹³⁸ *Ibid*.

¹³⁹ Uthman al-Fulani al-Sukuuti, f.7.

¹⁴⁰ J.A.Burdon, *Northern Nigeria: Historical Notes on certain Emirates and Tribes*, (London, 1909), p.104.

¹⁴¹ Waziri Junayd, *Dabt*, ff.103-104.

¹⁴² Muhammad Ahmad ibn Abdallah al-Mahdi, *Risaalat Ila Hayatu'Deen ibn Muhammad Bello*, digital manuscript in the hands of the author, f 1.



Folio 1 of the Risalat Ila Hayat' d-Deen ibn Sa'id ibn Muhammad Bello by Muhammad Ahmad ibn Abdallah al-Mahdi; from the archives of Maryum bint Hayatu' d-Deen in Maiurno, Sudan

Although Hayatu's efforts did not bear fruits among the *Caliphate*, it did cause much consternation among those who felt the 'hour of the Christians' had arrived. The key person who extricated the state from the revolt of Hayatu was one of the last surviving children of *Shehu* Uthman, Maryum. She was then around 74 year old and acted as one of the leading advisers to the *Caliph* along with holding the position of head of the Yan-taru educational system for women. She wrote in 1884 in a book called Wathiqat ila Amir Kano fi Amr'l-Mahdi:

"In the name of Allah the Beneficent the Merciful, may Allah bless the generous Prophet. It is from the 'Mother of the Believers' Maryum bint *Shehu*, the *mujaddid* and the Light of the Age – to the significantly blessed ruler greetings, which will please him, and peace, which will suffice him.

To continue: the objective in this letter is to instruct you concerning those who are relocating from these lands of Hausa and claiming that the time of the *hijra* has come. They also claim that they are correct in their assessment and they claim this –and that. Actually they are a people in error and have gone astray. They have neither evidence nor any sound reliance for their claims. They are actually in blindness in all their worldly affairs as well as religious affairs. What they claim is mere lies and self-deceit.

On the contrary there still remains good in us, Allah willing and our standing with Allah is still good and in a state of well-being.

My father, the *Shehu* informed us about our eventual *hijra* from the lands of Hausa but he did not designate a specific time

for the *hijra*. He, may Allah be merciful to him even informed us of the exact route that we would take during the *hijra*. He said about that, "We would flee from Bagu to Mushkum Fush, then to Saara, then Sarwa, then to Andum, then to a mountain called Kaghum, then to a mountain called Dhuuziyaat, then to a mountain called Abu Zaara, then to Rawaah, then to Deeghu, then to Kaaaja, then to Katuulu, then to Nuba, then to Thaghula which is a place for the mining of gold. It has ninety-nine mountains. Each mountain begins with the letter *fa`*. I only know three of their names: Faazughuli, Fanka Ghulu and Faafughulu. After the two days journey we reach the Nile of Egypt"; until the end of what he said, may Allah be merciful to him. He, however did not designate a specific year for our *hijra* except that he said that when the time was present no one would be unawares of it. Rather this event will be as obvious as a fire. Among the signs of the advent of the *hijra* will be the holding back of the rain until a person will try and take something from this river of ours and find nothing of water. Among its signs also are the seas of tribulations, which will occur in all of the western lands until the people flee transferring from their country heading in the direction of the east. However, they will not find us but will find that we have preceded them in the *hijra*. These two preceding signs are reliable based upon the narration of the two, my father, *Shehu* Uthman and his son Muhammad Bello, may Allah be merciful to them.

As for what we see now from the varieties of drought, famine, internecine wars between us and the disbelievers and few inhabited regions; this is not a reason for us to fear, Allah willing because Allah *tabaraka wa ta`ala* will remove all of these from us and open for us the way of success and the lands will be expanded for us until no disbelievers or rebels remain. They will be expelled by our hands. For I have seen these blessings which I have mentioned in us now. As for the those signs: the holding back of the rain; the seas of tribulations in all the western regions until they flee the west towards the east seeking to find us but seeing that we have preceded them in the caravans towards the east – all this was narrated by the two *shaykhs*.

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Maryam bint *Shehu* Uthman wrote this book in response to the claim of Muhammad Ahmed being the Awaited Mahdi. She informed the amir of Kano the falsity of this view because of the large amount of people making *hijra* by way of Kano. Her objective was to let the people know that the '*hour of the Christian*' had not yet arrived. Thus, there was no need then to make the *hijra* towards the east, as *Shehu* Uthman had prophesied. She wrote criticizing the views of Hayatu ibn Sa`id, his lieutenant Malam Jibril, and the Mahdist leader of Borno Rabbi:

"Know that these people are misguided and intend to misguide you. What they allege is a lie. There is still much good left in us, despite their allegations."¹⁴⁴

Maryum went on to say that the *Shehu* did foretell of a *hijra* and the route this *hijra* would follow until it reached the Nile River. She gave a description of the Awaited

¹⁴³ _ Jean Boyd, *The Caliph's Sister: Nana Asma'u 1793-1865 Teacher, Poet and Islamic Leader* (Frank Cass, 1989), p.79.

¹⁴⁴ _ Umar al-Naqar, *Pilgrimage*, p.84.

Mahdi as related in the traditions of Prophet Muhammad and in accordance to the writings of her father, *Shehu Uthman*; her brother Muhammad Bello and others among the officials of the state. by doing this she was able to remind them of the key eschatological principles which were fundamental to the Sokoto *Caliphate*.



Folio 1 of the *Wathiqat Ila Amir Kano Fi Amir 'l-Mahdi* of Maryum bint *Shehu Uthman Dan Fuduye`*, from the archives of the *Waziri Junayd History Bureau*, Sokoto Nigeria

Along with the above mentioned internal problems, *Caliph Umar* faced the increasing competition among European powers for economic and political control of his country. On 1 April the British began to test the power of the Sokoto *Caliphate* by comporting themselves while in Wurno such a manner which caused *Caliph Umar* to order them to leave. According to Adeleye, the *Caliph* and his officers expressed disgust at the behavior of members of the British mission towards Wurno women.¹⁴⁵ This boldness by the British mission and the increasing number of other European powers coming from all sides placed *Caliph Umar* in cautious mode with regard to Europeans. The British began to demonstrate an obvious desire to interfere in the affairs of the territories of the *Caliphate*. This attitude caused the *Caliph* and his officials to consider the prophecies of the *Shehu* concerning the '*hour of the Christians*'. Thus, suspicion changed into active resentment. However, he was unaware that on 5 August 1890 the Say-Barua line agreement had been drawn between the French and British, giving the Sokoto *Caliphate* over to British hegemony.¹⁴⁶ The British, thus began to execute their rule by first making expeditions into the southern emirates of Ilorin, Muri, Nupe and Adamawa. However, these expeditions were carried out in such a manner as to suggest that they were helping the *Caliph* establish justice. Because of the small number of British forces, they did not want at this stage open war with the *Caliphate*. The head of British efforts at that time, George Goldie wrote:

"We have by subsidies, diplomacy, and timely exhibition of force deferred the day of conflict with the Felattah power and we shall continue this policy as long as possible."¹⁴⁷

Thus began the 'decade of troubles' for the Sokoto *Caliphate*. The forewarned threat of the '*hour of the Christians*' and the added threat of internal strife from traditional

¹⁴⁵ R.A. Adeleye, *Power And Diplomacy*, p.160

¹⁴⁶ _ Ibid., p.167.

¹⁴⁷ _ Ibid., p.164.

enemies began to take its toll upon the *Caliphate*. Thus, the rule of *Caliph Umar* was characterized by upheavals, revolts and panic as a result of increasing corruption among the officials and because of the increased presence of European military activity all around the state. The added burden upon the state of increased revenues for the *Caliph* did nothing to help the internal situation. Dissatisfaction and revolt among the regional amirs impacted negatively upon the state. Consequently, Umar was preoccupied with squashing these revolts, especially those in Kaura Namoda , until he suddenly died on Wednesday night 25 March 1891 at the age of 69. He ruled for nine years, and ten months. His death and the unusual nature under which the next *Caliph* was chosen, caused some consternation in the *Caliphate*. This problem was to be one of a series of controversial events to occur during the long rule of the next ruler.



Al-Hajja Jaje' Maryum, the leader of the Yan Taru in Sokoto and descendent of Maryum bint *Shehu* Uthman Dan Fuduye`

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IV. Times of Controversy and Upheaval: the *Caliphate* of Abdur Rahman ibn Atiku 1891-1903

After almost a century of a continuous tradition of Islamic governance where justice and social responsibility was the norm and the standard of governance was based upon the spiritual visions of accountable rulers - there then appeared dangerous cracks in the system. The Sokoto *Caliphate* had arrived at a time in its history when the internal strife and external enemies combined to tear the state apart. Because of the unexpected death of *Caliph* Umar, an emergency arose which caused the traditional method of selecting the new *Caliph* to be jettisoned. All of the constituent assembly who were responsible for appointing and choosing the *Caliph* were not present. Thus, in the middle of the night, the chief minister *Waziri* Muhammad al-Bukhari appointed Abdur Rahman ibn Atiku as the next *Caliph* of Sokoto.¹⁴⁸ The problem with this selection was that it was expected that the *Sarkin Raba* Muhammad would be appointed as *Caliph*. This irregularity caused some consternation from some of the *amirs* and regional officials towards *Waziri* al-Bukhari.

The new *Caliph* Abdur Rahman was 62 years old when he was appointed as ruler. Prior to his appointment he held the office of *bunu*, which gave him jurisdiction over a small village called Dambiso.¹⁴⁹ Thus, he played an insignificant role in the *Caliphate* prior to his appointment. He neither had the diplomatic experience nor the character for leadership. Last points out how Abdur Rahman had a bad reputation for taking offense too easily and for being too harsh and uncompromising about insignificant things.¹⁵⁰ Perhaps the chief minister, *Waziri* al-Bukhari, was well aware of this character flaw and had him appointed because of it. In fact, *Waziri* al-Bukhari, seems to have been responsible for many of the decision making and controversial conflicts which plagued the *Caliphate* during this period.

In the *Bayan Wujub'l-Hijra* of *Shehu* Uthman, he stressed the necessity of the *Caliph* being appointed by the *shura* (constituent assembly) of the influential men (*ahl'l-hall wa'l'aqd*) in the absence of the outgoing *Caliph* appointing him himself.¹⁵¹ Clearly *Waziri* al-Bukhari deviated from this rule on his almost singled handed appointment of Abdur Rahman instead of the *Sarkin Raba* Muhammad. It is alleged that the character flaws of Abdur Rahman was well known prior to his appointment. Therefore, why would *Waziri* al-Bukhari single him out for appointment except perhaps to use Abdur Rahman as a pawn? The duties of al-Bukhari as *wazir* (chief minister) according to *Shehu* Uthman were to be:

"... truthful and trustworthy. He is to awaken the ruler if he sleeps, to give him sight where he is blind, and to remind him when he forgets. And the greatest evil for the government and the subjects is to be deprived of virtuous wazirs. The conditions for the *Wazir* is that he should be merciful and tolerant towards people".¹⁵²

Consequently, the core principles upon which the Sokoto *Caliphate* had been built were being discarded by an indignant *Caliph* being controlled by a *Wazir* hungry for

¹⁴⁸ _ Murray Last, p.127.

¹⁴⁹ _ Ibid., p.127.

¹⁵⁰ _ Ibid.

¹⁵¹ _ Uthman Dan Fuduye', *Bayan Wujub*, p.61.

¹⁵² _ Uthman Dan Fuduye', *Kitab Farq Bayna Wilaayat Ahl'l-Islam wa Bayna Wilaayat Ahl'l-Kufr*, manus., f.14.

power. This was unfortunate because in order to fight off the increasing influence which Britain began to have upon the *Caliphate*, there was need for a revival of the ideas of justice, personnel austerity and social accountability which the earlier rulers had established. The most crucial period for the *Caliphate* were the years of 1893 to 1903. *Caliph* Abdur Rahman advanced age and lack of diplomatic experience gave a freer hand to men such as *Waziri* al-Bukhari, and the *Marafa* Muhammad Maiturare. Murray Last points out how *Waziri* al-Bukhari's position during the early 1890s was all-powerful.¹⁵³ James Thompson said that *Waziri* al-Bukhari was: "...really more powerful than the Sultan himself, since nothing is done without his advice."¹⁵⁴

Staudinger reported that the *Wazir* was the most powerful of the ministers, almost more so than *Caliph* Abdur Rahman, since all government business went through him.¹⁵⁵ Wallace went further to say that *Waziri* al-Bukhari practically ruled the whole of the *Caliphate* because he held all the real power with *Caliph* Abdur Rahman 'being completely hedged in by formalities'.¹⁵⁶ Based upon this it is clear that *Waziri* al-Bukhari had been running the *Caliphate* with *Caliph* Abdur Rahman as a puppet. This situation would continue until the emergence of charismatic and loyal officials from the region of Adamawa. This will be discussed further later.

The first controversy to occur during the rule of Abdur Rahman was the *Mafara* affair. It occurred because of the inability of the *Amir* of Mafara due to sickness to travel to pay the oath of allegiance in person to *Caliph* Abdur Rahman.¹⁵⁷ The *Caliph* took this as a personal insult and retaliated by removing the region called Birnin Tudu from under his authority and giving it to the *Amir* of Burmi.¹⁵⁸ This decision was refused by the *Amir* of Mafara and as a result the *Caliph* declared them in revolt. The *Amir* of Mafara and his supporters were eventually destroyed and brought back into obedience to the *Caliph*. Throughout this affair *Waziri* al-Bukhari was deeply involved as is reflected in his *Rawd'l-Rayaahin*, wherein he describes his movements during the revolt and defends himself and the *Caliph* against critics.¹⁵⁹

Another revolt which shook the foundation of the state was the revolt of Yusef in 1893. This revolt was caused by the problems of succession created by the sudden death of the *Amir* of Kano, Abdullahi ibn Ibrahim. The *Caliph* Abdur Rahman preferred Yusef ibn Andullahi for the position, while *Waziri* al-Bukhari had a deep dislike for Yusef because of a public insult al-Bukhari received from Yusef back in 1873.¹⁶⁰ *Waziri* al-Bukhari demanded that if the *Caliph* was to appoint Yusef as *Amir* of Kano, that he should remove Kano from his (the *Wazir*'s) supervision.¹⁶¹ This was nothing but pure blackmail on the part of *Waziri* al-Bukhari. As a result the authority was given to the brother of the deceased *Amir*, Muhammad Bello ibn Ibrahim. However, on the death of Muhammad Bello on 28 February 1895, there arose another dispute concerning

¹⁵³ Murray Last, p.224.

¹⁵⁴ J. Thomson, "Sketch of a Trip to Sokoto by the River Niger", *Journal, Manchester Geographical Society*, II, 1886, p. 327.

¹⁵⁵ Murray Last, p. 224.

¹⁵⁶ William Wallace, "Notes on a Journey Through the Sokoto Empire and Borgu in 1894", *Geographical Journal*, VIII, 1896, pp. 212-217.

¹⁵⁷ R.A. Adeleye, p. 95-96.

¹⁵⁸ Murray Last, p. 131.

¹⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 219.

¹⁶⁰ R.A. Adeleye, p. 97-98.

¹⁶¹ *Ibid.*, p. 97.

succession. Again, Yusef ibn Abdullahi, the *Caliph's* choice, felt that he deserved the position - along with the fact that all the officials of Kano supported him. However, the Wazir encouraged the *Caliph* to support Muhammad Bello's son Tukur. Waziri al-Bukhari outlines this in his book dealing with this subject called Kitab Fi Maa Jara Baynii wa Bayna Amir Hadijia wa Yusef (The Book Regarding What Occurred Between Me and the Amir of Hadijia and Yusef).¹⁶² The majority of the regional officials of Kano supported Yusef against Tukur. As a result, Yusef left Kano and made *hijra* to a place called Takai.¹⁶³

Waziri Bukhari responded to this by sending letters to all the emirates ordering them not to trade or communicate with Yusef and his supporters from Takai. All of the *Amirs* responded favorably to the Wazir's decision, but did not send military support against Yusef. In fact, the *Amir* of Hadijia openly supported the claim of Yusef by demanding that the Wazir depose Tukur and place Yusef as the *Amir* of Kano. Yusef forces began to defeat the small forces of Tukur in spite of the desperate support he received from the Wazir.¹⁶⁴ However, on 18 July 1894 Yusef died and the authority was given to his son Ali Baba. On 23 September 1894 Ali Baba and his army marched into Kano and killed Tukur. This action forced the *Caliph* to recognize the error of his Wazir, Muhammad al-Bukhari, and the intrigues he had been involved with for the past decade. Ali Baba was installed as *Amir* of Kano, and the internal strife which this revolt caused brought shocking realities to the minds of the *Caliph* and officials of the Sokoto *Caliphate*. It was clear to the *Caliph* that the time was right for some house cleaning.

Whenever the Sokoto *Caliphate* was in turmoil, the officials would always resort to the writings of *Shehu* Uthman Dan Fuduye', Abdullahi Dan Fuduye', or Muhammad Bello. Thus, as a result of the crisis of unchecked government officials, *Caliph* Abdur Rahman took council with the only elements within the government which could check all powerful government official - that element was the judiciary (*qudaa*). According to the *Shehu*:

"The second pillar of just Islamic government is a judge (*al-qaadi*) who for the sake of Allah does not fear the criticism of those who criticize."¹⁶⁵

In other words, the judge must be beyond reproach. He should be a man of integrity, intelligence, and wealth. Each of these qualities according to Abdullahi Dan Fuduye' will protect him from being influenced by bribes or from showing favoritism in his judgments.¹⁶⁶

From where would this judge come? Would he come from the regions in and around where all the turmoil existed or was he to be chosen from those areas where the ideas of the *Shehu* were still alive and well. There was a belief that the light and spiritual blessings of the *Shehu* would gradually move southeast into the lands of Adamawa.¹⁶⁷ During the crisis of the '*hour of Christians*' the *fuqaha* (jurists) of Adamawa would revive the traditions laid down by the *Shehu* and his chief supporters.

¹⁶² Murray Last, p. 219 n.

¹⁶³ R.A. Adeleye, p. 100.

¹⁶⁴ Ibid., p. 101.

¹⁶⁵ Uthman Dan Fuduye', *Kitab Farq*, f. 14.

¹⁶⁶ Abdullahi Dan Fuduye', *Diya'l-Hukaam Fi Maa Lahum wa Maa `Alayhim Min'l-Ahkaam*, manus., ff. 143-150.

¹⁶⁷ Sa`ad Abubakar, *The Lamibe of Fombina*, (Ahmadu Bello University Press, Zaria), 1977, p. 105.

In Adamawa, also known as Fombina (meaning the southern lands), there was a scholar (*modibbo*) named Abdullahi ibn Muhammad Bellel (Mudi Abdu)¹⁶⁸, who had immigrated to the region from the western emirates. He was a very learned according to the standards of Sokoto and Gwandu scholarship. It is for this reason that the ruler (*lamido*) of Adamawa, Muhammad Lawal, made him the secretary of state (*wazir*) and chief *Imam*. This happened when Mudi Abdu was still in his thirties. Perhaps as Abubakar points out there were very few scholars among the Muslims of Adamawa prior to the 1840s.¹⁶⁹ Other prominent scholars in the government in Adamawa during his appointment were the chief *Qadi* Modibbo Hassan, and the commander of the troops Ardo Ghamawa. This was the essence of the government of Adamawa during the time from 1848 until 1872, with the exception of *Modibbo* Muhammadu from Massina being appointed the chief judge in 1855.¹⁷⁰

During the rule of *Lamido* Muhammad Lawal, Mudi Abdu played a major role in government policy and education of the people of Adamawa. He was tireless in his seeking of knowledge from the few scholars who immigrated from the west, like *Modibbo* Hassan, *Modibbo* Muhammadu, *Modibbo* Raji ibn Ali, *Modibbo* Adama Agana and *Modibbo* Sufuyan. From them he inherited their personal austerity and zeal for the truth.¹⁷¹ However, because of the *Lamido's* forceful character and his martial-bent, there was no real consensus in the government. Policy for the most part was created by *Lamido* Muhammad Lawal.

With the death of *Lamido* Muhammad Lawal in 1872, Adamawa witnessed major administrative and judicial reforms. These reforms were very similar to the reforms established by *Shehu* Uthman Dan Fuduye' during his time. The scholars and officials of Adamawa chose the brother of the late *Lamido*, Umaru Sanda as the next ruler of Adamawa. *Lamido* Umaru Sanda was sent to Sokoto *Caliph* Abu Bakr ibn Bello for official appointment. On his return *Lamido* Umaru, with the encouragement from the scholars, set about implementing major reforms. The key person behind these reforms was none other than *Alkali* Mudi Abdu. He was now in his late fifties and was rigorous for the rapid islamization of the administration. *Alkali* Mudi Abdu became like a father to the new *Lamido*, who guided him in his every decision. Abubakar points out that when the oath of allegiance was given to *Lamido* Sanda, he promised the scholars of Adamawa four far reaching pledges:

"The first, was that he intended to abide by the shari`a in his pursuit of Islamic policies, and he called upon his vassals to unite and cooperate with him in the interest of Islam. Second, the *Lamido* informed the people that his position entailed considerable knowledge of Islam, but as he was not a scholar, he intended to work closely with the scholars (*modibbe*) in Yola. He promised not to implement any policy or take any action which the *modibbe* did not regard as being compatible with the shari`a. Third, concerning the vassals who had been in conflict with Yola since the reign of the *Lamido* Muhammad Lawal, Sanda offered friendship and called for reconciliation.

¹⁶⁸ In this study *Modibbo* Abdullahi Bellel will hereafter be called by his nickname *Mudi Abdu*. Mudi Abdu is the Fulbe shortened version of *Modibbo* Abdullahi.

¹⁶⁹ Sa`ad Abubakar, p. 104.

¹⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 105.

¹⁷¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 105, 107, 115.

Finally, the new Lamido pledged not to continue with wars which had become concerned with destroying pagan settlements and establishing *dumde* (agrarian slave settlements) in their place. Wars would be undertaken only after the modibbe had agreed that they were in the interest of Islam and in accordance with the laws governing the launching of jihad."¹⁷²

Among the reforms was the expanding of the constituent assembly (*majalis's-shura*) to include many more scholars. Among the new constituent assembly was *Shaykh* Mudi Abdu, *Modibbo* Abubakar Namtari, *Modibbo* Uthman ibn Raji, *Modibbo* Bilkijo, *Modibbo* Sufyanu, *Modibbo* Nakashiri, and *Modibbo* Ali Bundang. Thus the leading role in government was now played by the scholars, who were responsible for interpreting decisions in the light of the *shari`a*, which served as the basis of policy implementation or rejection. When before the scholars were strong critics of the government in Adamawa, now they were the governments strongest supporters. Adamawa under the influence of *Alkali* Mudi Abdu had evolved into an elaborate and sophisticated political machine. Adamawa had been divided by the scholars into four judiciary zones. Each zone had its own appeals judge located in the capital city, Yola. *Alkali* Mudi Abdu was appointed as the chief-judge of the entire emirate of Adamawa and was in charge of all appeals from the metropolis and from the sub-emirates of Banyo-Koncha in the west. *Modibbo* Uthman ibn Raji was appointed judge of the five extensive northern sub-emirates. *Modibbo* Abubakar Namtari was appointed judge of the five sub-emirates of the east. *Modibbo* Bilkijo was appointed judge over the southern sub-emirates of Tibati and Ngaundere.¹⁷³ These four judges had the judiciary power to hear cases even against the regional amirs and officials, and to implement the *shari`a*. In every town, which included some fifty towns there was appointed a judge who tried cases in their regions. Their judgments could first be appealed in the courts of the *amirs* of the sub-emirates, then in the courts of the higher appeal judges, and finally in the supreme court in Yola, headed by *Alkali* Mudi Abdu.¹⁷⁴ Although the four appeal judges had the right to try capital offenses, only the Lamido could pass the death sentence. Abubakar states:

"In the event of a final appeal session, all four appeal judges, as well as the other leading scholars in Yola, had to assemble before the Lamido; the case would be considered and the sentence passed after each judge and scholar had given his opinion based on the *shari`a*."¹⁷⁵

These judicial reforms had far reaching effect upon the emirate of Adamawa and the entire judiciary system of the Sokoto *Caliphate*. Adamawa became a beacon of light for the *Caliphate* when other regions were being flung into chaos and upheaval as a result of oppressive policies and the lack of reform. It is for this reason that Adamawa became the magnet for many scholars fleeing from unjust *amirs* and from the onslaught of the French in the far western *bilad's-sudan*. These reforms in Adamawa continued for many years in spite of the increasing aggressive expansion of the British into its region.

Thus, by 1895, when the *Caliph* Abdur Rahman was in dire need of a scholar who was irreproachable, intelligent and fearless - he looked to the lands of the Fombina ('the

¹⁷² *Ibid.*, p. 122.

¹⁷³ *Ibid.*, p. 124.

¹⁷⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁷⁵ *Ibid.*

south') in Adamawa. According to classical Islamic governmental theory it is the judiciary which checks the limits of executive government when it has overstepped its limits. The judge fuses judiciary and executive power with the legal power to legislate through the *fatwa* (legal decision) and creates an authority which effectively rules the supreme office of *Caliph*.¹⁷⁶ This phenomenon was seen: during the epoch of the Four Righteous *Caliphs*; during the second and third generation after Prophet Muhammad; during the age of the Murabitun of North Africa and Andalusia; during the golden age of the Songhay Empire; and finally during the Sokoto *Caliphate*. The phenomenon where the *amirs* and the *Caliph* voluntarily yields to the opinion of the scholar notables (*fuqaha*) before implementing any executive policy is the essence of reform (*tajdid*) in Islam.

Such reform was created by *Alkali* Mudi Abdu and it was in his person that *Caliph* Abdur Rahman saw the solution to the internal and external threats to the collapse of the Sokoto *Caliphate*. Professor al-Amin Abu Manga brought out in his research that *Caliph* Abdur Rahman invited *Alkali* Mudi Abdu to Sokoto to accept the position of chief judge (*qaadi'l-quda*) over the entire Sokoto *Caliphate* to implement similar reforms among all the emirates.¹⁷⁷ This he declined making as his excuse his desire to complete his education. This was said, no doubt, out of modesty and self effacement. However, he did send his oldest son, Ahmed, in his stead who was made the chief judge of Sokoto.¹⁷⁸ It was providential that *Alkali* Mudi Abdu decided to remain in Yola, because only a person with his intellect and integrity could have been able to confront the political turmoil which was about to be unleashed upon the southern emirates of the Sokoto *Caliphate*.

Events from 1895 to 1897 clearly demonstrated the hostility of the European Christians towards the *Caliphate*. The British government under the guise of the Royal Niger Company established military post at three points in the emirate of Nupe. John Flint describes the mood and justification which the British would use to invade the Sokoto *Caliphate*:

"The motive of war would be announced as the suppression of slavery and slave-raiding. With victory, the company would no longer be an obscure trading company which Englishmen only heard of by reading rather disturbing reports of allegations in Parliament. It would then not be so easy for Chamberlain to revoke the charter . . . public opinion would want to know why a company which had recently ventured so much should now be bought up ignominiously."¹⁷⁹

The hypocrisy of the Royal Niger Company is not difficult to finger. The excuse of the suppression of the slave raiding and the slave trade was very convenient for the Company when confronted by criticism from Parliament. This same subterfuge would be utilized by the Northern Nigerian Protectorate to justify getting more revenues from Parliament after January 1, 1900. However, both the Company and the Protectorate would turn a blind eye to this trade when there were commercial favors to be gained. Thus, the British under the Company began the conquest of the Sokoto by first invading

¹⁷⁶ Elias Saad, The Social History of Timbuktu: the Role of Muslim Scholars and Notables 1400-1900, (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge), 1982, pp. 229-232.

¹⁷⁷ Al-Amin Abu Manga, p. 23.

¹⁷⁸ Ibid.

¹⁷⁹ J. Flint, Sir George Goldie and the Making of Nigeria, (Ibadan, 1960), pp. 246-247.

the emirate of Nupe in 1897. The only thing on the side of the Company was the power of their guns and their ability to use them. For the Muslim forces of Nupe had the number, the fierce determination and courage to fight the British without giving up one inch of ground. The leader of the Companies forces is reported to have said:

"Our own highly trained force with thirty Europeans would have been annihilated at Bida, if it had not been for the field gun."¹⁸⁰

After this 'victory' the Company moved down the river to the emirate of Ilorin on 15, February 1897. The Muslims came out with a force of 8,000-10,000 forces. Some were armed with rifles, muzzle-loading guns, swords and spears. The result of this battle was the same as in Nupe. The *Caliph* Abdur Rahman responded by dispatching instructions to all the emirates to close the roads in order to block the European invasion. In a letter to Yola in Adamawa, the *Caliph* said:

"I have seen what the company has done to Bida and Ilorin, my territories. You are not to allow the company to remain in any part of the country where you have jurisdiction."¹⁸¹

In 1898, the British invaded the emirate of Gwandu and established an outpost at Illo. By 1899, the consciousness of the 'hour of the Christians' and the fear of being conquered was widespread throughout the *Caliphate*. If there had been internal strife during the early decades, now the European threat acted as a unifying element causing many former enemies within the *Caliphate* to recognize their common destiny. The *Caliph* wrote a letter to the Company stating:

"To the Royal Niger Company., greetings . . . That you may know that we have received your letter and we understand your words. But, as for us, our Lord is Allah . . ., our Creator and King. Whatever our Prophet Muhammad, upon him be peace, has given us we shall take. And we shall not exchange it for anything until the end of time. Do not send any gifts or dispatches to us after this."¹⁸²

On January 1 1900, the British Government created the Proclamation of a transfer of political and economic power from the Royal Niger Company to the British Government. The Proclamation stipulated that the Sokoto *Caliphate* would henceforth be a protectorate of the British Government.¹⁸³ This proclamation revoked the charter of the Company and thus began the formal imposition of British rule over the *Caliphate* either by peaceful negotiation or by force of arms. Frederic Lugard was placed over this venture as executioner of the objectives of the Queen of England. Lugard had the proclamation translated into Arabic and dispatched to all the emirates of Sokoto. One of Lugard's officers, Alder Burdon said about the bad quality of the Arabic translation:

"To a highly educated man like Audu (the *Caliph* Abdur Rahman) the illiterate character of the letter would induce a feeling of contempt for its reputed author, while its ungrammatical unintelligibility could not but cause a feeling of fear."¹⁸⁴

¹⁸⁰ R.A Adeleye, p. 183-184.

¹⁸¹ A.H.M. Kirk-Greene, *Adamawa: Past and Present*, (Oxford, 1960), p. 51.

¹⁸² R.A Adeleye, p. 205.

¹⁸³ H.F. Blackwell, *The Occupation of Hausaland: 1900-1904*, (Lagos, 1927), p. 12.

¹⁸⁴ R.A. Adeleye, p. 221.

The response which the *Caliphate* gave to the Proclamation was not to read it at all. All of the emirates without exception told the messengers from Lugard upon arrival that no more letters will be accepted from the "white man" and they were then hastily conducted out of the towns. Meanwhile Lugard began preparing for his confrontation with the *Caliphate* by recruiting Hausa pagans and some Muslims to his army. According to Adeleye, "he laid down that officers must treat their Muslim rank and file with suspicion, especially as he believed that there were attempts from the emirates to suborn the troops".¹⁸⁵ He said that Hausa speaking pagans should be preferred over Muslims because they had a greater hatred for the Fulani Muslims than anyone else. He instructed his officers that in their recruitment of Muslims that "intelligent *mallams* (scholars) were to be regarded as distinct security risks".¹⁸⁶

After conquering the Ilorin, Kontagora and Nupe emirates, the British then set their eyes upon the powerful *emirate* of Adamawa. Their excuse for invading Adamawa was the suppression of the slave trade and slave raiding. Lovejoy and Hogendorn demonstrated that this argument by Lugard was merely a pawn in his own ambitious game.¹⁸⁷ Lugard was only concerned about his relations at home in England, public opinion in the English-speaking world, and the execution of military power in the context of British imperialism. Although, it is outside the scope of this study, the fact remains that the system of slavery which England had claimed to be annihilating continued up until 1936 when the Protectorate passed Ordinance No.16 declaring all people born or brought into Nigeria to be free.¹⁸⁸ The long history of British occupation of Northern Nigeria shows that England did not want to end slavery or foster any dislocation that might retard the unification of colonial rule.

The British saw the emirate of Adamawa as the main obstacle to their imperialistic aims over the upper Benue region. Again they evoked the sacred 'suppression of slave raiding' policy as an excuse to invade Adamawa. One of Lugard's officers, William Wallace wrote to the Colonial Office describing the emirate of Adamawa:

"...the Amir of Yola is now the worst offender in the manner of slave raiding in this Protectorate. He openly defies the Government, and recently sent a message, through the Niger Company's agents, asking 'when he was to receive a visit from these new white men who would not show so much patience as the Company had shown towards him'".¹⁸⁹

In August of 1901 the British Colonial Office approved of the dispatching of a military expedition against the capital of Adamawa, Yola. On 26 August the British sent a force led by Colonel Moreland and William Wallace with three hundred soldiers.¹⁹⁰ The British sent ahead of them a messenger with a letter to the Lamido of Adamawa, Zubayru, explaining Lugard's terms. However, this messenger was turned out of Yola without the letter being touched, let alone read.¹⁹¹

¹⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 220-221.

¹⁸⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁸⁷ P.E. Lovejoy and J.S. Hogendorn, *Slow Death For Slavery: the Course of Abolition in Northern Nigeria, 1898-1936*, (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge), 1993, p. 29.

¹⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 29-30.

¹⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 22.

¹⁹⁰ Sa'ad Abubakar, p. 145.

¹⁹¹ R.A. Adeleye, p. 233.

The British arrived outside Yola on the first of September the British met with Lamido Zubayru in order to inform him the terms of Lugard. After the meeting with the Christians the *Lamido* assembled his constituent assembly, which was made up of his Wazir Pate, the Galadima Faruku, Kaigama Nuhu, the appeal judges - led by Hamma Joda, the Chief Judge Alkali Mudi Abdu, and many of the scholars of Yola and other sub-emirates. The leader of the appeal judges Hamma Joda, who had experienced European warfare while in Sudan, advised the Lamido to accept the terms of the British in order to avoid war. He said that the Christians did not interfere with Islam and that it would not be against Islam if they were to surrender to Christian rule.¹⁹² This view was heatedly contested by the remainder of the officials, especially *Alkali Mudi Abdu*. The latter group held that surrendering to the Christians meant leaving the *jama`at* (community) of believers and abandoning the authority of the *Caliph*. They felt that to capitulate or collaborate with the Christians amounted to withdrawing from under the protective *baraka* (blessings) of *Shehu Uthman Dan Fuduye`*.¹⁹³

During the following two months of September and October, *Lamido Zubayr* and his officials had the time to consider all their options. During this time many Muslims began to flee towards Sokoto, while many began the *hijra* to the east in the direction of the Nile River foretold by *Shehu Uthman dan Fuduye`*. Clearly, to the people of Yola and Adamawa the 'hour of the Christians' had arrived. To the other emirates messengers from Yola were sent in order to inform them about the events of Yola and also to obtain legal advice as to the correct response to this threat.

All over the *Caliphate* the scholars and notables were divided into three groups. Some scholars and notables who had gained financially from European presence and who did not value their religion over their worldly affairs counselled for a truce on terms of peace (*sulhi*). Among these were the *Amirs* of Kontagora, Ilorin, Nupe, the *Amir* of Gwandu, the chief judge of Gwandu, the head of the appeal judge in Yola Hamma Joda, the *Galadima* of Kano, Muhammad ibn Ali ibn Bello, the Waziri al-Bukhari, the Galagima of Sokoto, and many others. Others counselled for war (*qitaal*) and felt that there was change for military victory against the Christians. This group was divided into those who wanted fight for worldly possessions and to maintain their positions of authority; while others wanted to fight in order to defend Islam and preserve the government laid down by *Shehu Uthman Dan Fuduye`*.

Among those who counselled fighting was the *Marafa* Muhammad Maiturare, Lamido Zubayru, the Sarkin Rabah, Sarkin Zamfara, and Sarkin Kebbi. The final group were for the emigration (*hijra*) to the east in accordance with what the founder of the *Caliphate* had foretold long ago. This group included the *Caliph* Abdur Rahman, the Amir of Kano Ali ibn Yusef, the Sarkin Sudan Muhammad Attahiru, the *Mai* of Wurno Muhammad Bello, the chief judge of the *Caliphate* Ahmed ibn Mudi Abdu, his father the chief judge of Adamawa Mudi Abdu, the *Dan Maji*, the *Dan Magaji* Abdur Raaziq Dan Tafa, the *Ubandoma*, the *Amir* of Kwoni, the *Madaki*, and the son of the *Wazir* Abdal Qadir. These and many others were convinced that the 'hour of the Christians' had come and the only way out for the *jama`at* of *Shehu Uthman Dan Fuduye`* was to make the *hijra* towards the east.

¹⁹² Sa`ad Abubakar, p. 145.

¹⁹³ Ibid., p. 145.

It was during this lull that *Alkali* Mudi Abdu responded to this critical period by composing a work which he called ar-Risaalat wa'n-Naseeha ('A Letter of Sound Advice to the Accountable Muslims of These Times). *Alkali* Mudi Abdu's response during the crucial time of the *Caliphate* was typical of the Islamic judiciary, whose responsibility was to emerge with the correct independent legal judgments (*ijtihad*) in times of social upheaval. It was mentioned earlier of the eminent standing which Mudi Abdu had among the scholars of the *Caliphate*. In fact because he was invited in 1895 by *Caliph* Abdur Rahman to accept the post of Supreme Justice (*qaadi'l-quda*) was an indication that he was unanimously accepted as the most learned scholar of the present generation of Sokoto notables.¹⁹⁴ His long years of service and reform of the *emirate* of Adamawa on behalf of the rulers *Lamido* Muhammad Lawal, *Lamido* Umaru Sanda, and now *Lamido* Zubayru; placed him in a position as absolute confidant of the officials of the Sokoto *Caliphate*.

Among the sincere scholars as wells as the insincere, there emerged opinions which contradicted the essence of the Qur'an, the Prophetic *Sunna*, the Consensus of the *Sunni* scholars, and the traditions established by the founders of the *Caliphate* - *Alkali* Mudi Abdu was thus obligated to remind those who had forgotten, to awaken those who had gone asleep and to open the eyes of those who had become blind. It was mentioned previously that the fundamental duties of the judiciary after hearing and trying cases, is to command all that is good and to forbid all indecencies. It was the expressed duty of Mudi Abdu to address this crucial issue of the invasion of the British.

Thus, in the tradition of *Shehu* Uthman Dan Fuduye', *Alkali* Mudi Abdu composed his Risaalat wa Naseehat. He opened the book by explaining that the target audience of this letter was 'the accountable people of these times' (*al-mu`asireen'l-mu`atineen*).¹⁹⁵ The people he was addressing were both specific and general. The specific audience was the *Caliph*, the chief *Wazir*, the Supreme Justice, the regional *amirs*, the regional *wazirs*, the regional judges, the *Amir* of the army, and the regional *amirs* of the military. Included among those who were specifically addressed were the descendants of the rulers and officials who had sought asylum with the *Caliphate* from the *Caliphate* of Hamdullahi and the *Caliphate* of Massina. Mudi Abdu referred to them as accountable because the responsibility of governance rest upon their shoulders. The general target of this dispatch were the rulers of all the Muslim lands who were faced with similar dilemma of colonial take over by the Europeans. to these people he said:

"Realize! And may Allah make you and I successful at arriving at the that which is correct; this is with regard to what has transpired between the adherents among the People of Islam and the Europeans (*ar-Ruum*) accompanied by the remainder of the disbelievers, comes down to one of three matters. The first is to fight (*al-qitaal*). The second is the making of truce (*as-sulhi*). The third is emigration (*al-hijra*). And for each one there is a specific stipulation (*mahalun*) and definite legal ruling (*hukmun*). Pursuant to that, we have arranged this dispatch into three topics (*mubaahith*) aside from an introduction."¹⁹⁶

¹⁹⁴ Al-Amin Abu Manga, p. 23.

¹⁹⁵ Al-Kali Mudi Abdu, ar-Risaalat wa'n-Naseehat, manus., f. 1.

¹⁹⁶ Ibid.

Here Mudi Abdu refers to the British and the Germans as *ahl'l-Ruum* (the people of Rome). This term was used to denote Europeans who were in the classical Islamic interpretation apart of the Christian Roman Empire before its break up into the Byzantium and Western Holy Roman Empire. It came to be used for the people of western and eastern Europe.¹⁹⁷ This term was no doubt correct because the *emirate* of Adamawa was being attacked simultaneously by the British in the west and the Germans in the southeast. Thus, the best term which would define the enemy in one word was the Europeans (*ahl'l-ruum*).

Another key point in the above opening to this revolutionary document was how Mudi Abdu defined those Africans, both pagan and Muslim who collaborated with the Europeans. He delineated them as "the rest or remainder of the disbelievers" (*saa'ir'l-kufaar*). This is very important because implicit in this statement is a legal judgment which lay at the very core of the foundation of the Sokoto *Caliphate*. At the inception of the *jihad* *Shehu* Uthman Dan Fuduye' saw the need to define those who claimed to be Muslim, while at the same time assisted the disbelievers in their armies against the Muslims. In his Siraj'l-Ikhwaan, the *Shehu* states:

"Concerning the legal judgment of fighting those who help the disbelievers from among the scholars, the students and the common people: I say, and success is with Allah, realize O brothers! the *jihad* against the above mentioned group is obligatory by the consensus of opinion, because they are disbelievers absolutely! This is because the truth is obscured with falsehood on account of them; or because they make permissible what Allah, the Mighty the Majestic has made forbidden; or because they help the disbelievers in their armies against the believers. . . . That which will prove the absence of *iman* in them is what Allah ta'ala has related in the Qur'an about those who befriend the disbelievers. *You see many of them seeking friendship with those who disbelieve; certainly evil is that which their souls have sent before for them, that Allah became displeased with them and in chastisement shall they abide. Had they believed in Allah, in the Prophet and in what was revealed to him, they would not have taken them for friends, but most of them are corrupt (faasiqun)* . . . The above mentioned proof clarifies that the prerequisites of *iman* (belief) is avoiding friendship with the disbelievers. Thus, adhere to the testimony of the Mighty Lord in declaring disbelief for anyone who befriends them, no matter who he is, in any time or place. Befriending them means assisting them because the protecting friend (*waali*) is a helper (*naasir*) . . . thus, by that, I have established that anyone who befriends anyone from among the disbelievers, whoever he may be, in anytime or place, has become an apostate from the religion of Islam - even if his Islam was sound before that. And the *jihad* against them is better than any *jihad* and their wealth is to made revenue."¹⁹⁸

It was based upon this legal ruling that *Shehu* Uthman declared as disbelievers any *imam* or scholar among the Muslims who took the disbelievers of Hausaland as

¹⁹⁷ Cyril Glasse', p. 338.

¹⁹⁸ Uthman Dan Fuduye', Siraj'l-Ikhwaan, manus. ff. 23-24.

protecting friends, supported their government, or assisted them in fighting the Muslims of the Sokoto *Caliphate*. It is interesting to note that the *Shehu* stipulated that regardless of who the individual is in terms of notability among the Muslims or regardless of what time it may happen; the judgment of apostasy is the same. Thus *Alkali* Mudi Abdu utilized this ruling to delineate the Yoruba, Nupe, Hausa, Kanembo, and Moroccan Muslims who assisted the British and the Germans in the destruction of the *emirate* of Adamawa as disbelievers and enemies to the state. This ruling remains valid in all times if the conditions or congruous.

The *Caliph* Abdur Rahman and the officials of the *Caliphate* were in confusion as to what action should be taken against the European imperialist. This confusion was reflected in the responses which the *Caliph* made to many of the letters from Lugard. In some of the letters the *Caliph* clearly did not know what to do.¹⁹⁹ The *Caliph* was getting conflicting advice from all his officers in Sokoto. The *Waziri* Muhammad al-Bukhari counseled the *Caliph* to make a truce with the Europeans. However, his counsel was indeterminate because of the previous internal revolts of Mafara and Kano, which he was responsible for.

The *Marafa* Muhammad Maiturare counseled the *Caliph* to make war upon the British. This, no doubt, was because the *Marafa* had no intention of giving up the vast amount of authority and wealth he had accumulated during his years of office. However, because of his impressive army of Azbinawa gunmen and the fact that many other officials counseled for war. Others like the *Sarkin Sudan* Attahiru counseled for *hijra* (exodus) in accordance with what *Shehu* Uthman had forewarned a century earlier. Then in the middle of September in response to the British and German invasion of Adamawa, the chief judge of Adamawa, *Alkali* Mudi Abdu wrote:

"The solution to the matter which has occurred between the Muslims and between the Europeans and the rest of the disbelievers is one of three things. The first is to fight (*al-qitaal*). The second is the making of truce (*as-sulhi*). The third is emigration (*al-hijra*). And for each one there is a specific stipulation (*mahalun*) and definite legal ruling (*hukmun*)."²⁰⁰

Mudi Abu went on to discuss in a detailed and legalistic manner the stipulation and legal rulings for each of the three choices. Taking as his evidence the Qur'an, then the evidence of the Prophetic *sunna*, then the evidence of the consensus of the scholars, and finally he would discuss these in the light of the present political and social dilemma that the *Caliphate* was in. In the introduction Mudi Abdu began with discussing the importance of the revolutionaries having pure and undefiled intentions, because the problem which they had to deal with was momentous and could only be surmounted with a clear heart which was illuminated by sincerity.²⁰¹ He gave some indication of what his final legal decision would be in the very beginning of the dispatch. For he sighted a classical prophetic tradition which most Islamic books of jurisprudence opens with. However, in the context in which he placed it, gave it a much more explosive and immediate significance. The tradition was related by many collectors of prophetic traditions and has been considered absolutely valid by the scholars of this science. It was narrated by one of the companions of the Prophet, namely Umar ibn al-Khataab. It says:

¹⁹⁹ H.F. Backwell, p. 14.

²⁰⁰ Al-Kali Mudi Abdu, f. 1.

²⁰¹ Ibid.

"Actions are based upon intention. And everyone shall have but what he intends. Thus, he whose emigration (*hijra*) was for Allah and his Messenger, then his emigration (*hijra*) was for Allah and his Messenger. And he whose emigration (*hijra*) was to achieve some worldly benefit or to take some women in marriage, then his emigration was for that which he emigrated."²⁰²

The citing of this tradition at the beginning is interesting because the decision of *hijra* (emigration) is the legal choice he will make after making sound deliberation upon the evidence he will present. Then Mudi Abdu, anticipating the opinions of scholars among the *Caliphate* who will collaborate with the Europeans, makes a scathing attack upon pseudo scholars who if followed can lead the *Caliphate* into the jaws of defeat and colonialism. He relates a prophetic tradition narrated by al-Bukhari, which says:

"Truly Allah will not take away knowledge completely, snatching it away from his servants. Rather He will take away knowledge by the seizing of the scholars, until when no scholar shall remain. And then people will take ignorant ones as their leaders. They will then be questioned and they will give legal decisions without knowledge. Wherefore, they will have gone astray and will have led others astray."²⁰³

Here Mudi Abdu was describing the cause for the many problems which the *Caliphate* was facing. Many of the government officials lacked the level of scholarship and piety which had been required for office during the early days of the *Caliphate*. Mudi Abdu was directing his criticism to the local scholars of Yola and the scholars of Sokoto and Gwandu who were encouraging the leadership to collaborate with the enemies. In another section of the letter he refers to them as 'students'.²⁰⁴ This, no doubt, was his way of informing them that they were 'too green' intellectually to pass legal decisions on the issues confronting the *Caliphate*. Finally in the introduction Mudi Abdu quotes a tradition from *Caliph Umar ibn al-Khataab*, saying:

"The destruction of al-Islam will come from the errors of the learned men (*zallatu'l-`aalim*), from the disputes of the hypocrites (*jidaalu'l-munaafiq*) about the Book of Allah and from the legal decisions of misguided leaders (*al-a'ima'l-mudaleen*)."²⁰⁵

Mudi Abdu cited this in order to remind the scholars that they have a responsibility to Allah, His Messenger, and to the people of the *Caliphate* to deliberate upon the sound sources of knowledge and not be led astray by corrupt passions and whims. He warned them of exhibiting the leading traits of the hypocrite which is showing friendship to the disbelievers and the enemies of the Muslims. He cites a Qur'anic verse to drive home this point and which was revealed concerning the hypocrites during the early days of Islam:

"What ails you that you have become two parties regarding the hypocrites, when Allah has cast them back to disbelief because of what they earned? Do you seek to guide him whom Allah has sent astray? He whom Allah sends astray, for him you

²⁰² Ibid.

²⁰³ Ibid.

²⁰⁴ Ibid., ff. 11-12.

²⁰⁵ Ibid., f. 2.

cannot find a way. They long that you should disbelieve even as they disbelieved, that you may be upon a level equal with them. So do not choose friends from among them until they emigrate in the way of Allah. If they turn back (to enmity) then take them and kill them wherever you find them."²⁰⁶

The above verse is a call to arms against those who would collaborate with the European and refuse to make the *hijra*. The remainder of the introduction deals with the status of those who struggle for the cause of Allah. After the introduction, Mudi Abdu discusses the obligation and legal judgment concerning *jihad*. He established using precedence from the Qur'an, the *sunna* and consensus that *jihad* is an collective obligation which becomes an individual obligation when the preservation of Islam is under question. He showed with lucid arguments that no Muslim had an excuse for neglecting the *jihad* except under conditions that are legally established by law. The second chapter deals with the legal judgment of armistice (*muhaadina*) and truce (*sulhi*). Here Mudi Abdu went to great lengths to show that armistice and truce with the disbelievers can only occur under certain conditions: They are: [1] that the Muslims remain under their own jurisdiction and not be under the rule of the Europeans; [2] that the truce and armistice be for a designated period, there can be no perpetual armistice with the disbelievers; and [3] that the truce and armistice be free of unethical and fraudulent conditions.

Clearly Mudi Abdu was trying to clarify the legal points to men like *Waziri* al-Bukhari, the judge of Gwandu, Ahmed ibn Sa`ad, and the regional appeal judges of Adamawa concerning the dangers of making truce with the Christians. In a passionate passage the *Alkali* describes the destructive and blameworthy traits which result in making truce with the European imperialist:

"This will result in the Muslims being stamped with their destructive characteristics and blameworthy customs and the Muslims will eventually imitate the Europeans' illicit way of life. This will go on until the weak hearted ones among the Muslims grow fond of their customs and become laden with corruption. Eventually, the youth will mature molded in the pattern of the European way of life. The women and children will become fascinated by them and began to dress themselves with their adornment until when the amply honored *Sunna* of the Prophet perishes and pitch black innovation (*bid`a*) is revived. This state of affairs will continue until their European way of life prevails and spreads. Thus, the Muslims will become humiliated because of their entering under the domination of the Christians."²⁰⁷

He concludes by clarifying that a truce under these circumstances can only lead to the total destruction of Islam as way of life, and under these conditions emigration (*hijra*) becomes absolutely obligatory. Mudi Abdu then makes a direct attack at *Waziri* al-Bukhari, the *Marafa* Muhammad Maiturare, *Alkali* Ahmed Sa`ad, and the other scholars who would allow the *Caliphate* to be humiliated under the feet of the Europeans:

"Therefore, be on your guard, my brothers, against what some of the students in these times of ours are inclined to permit the indefinite terms of peace. Their evidence for that being taken

²⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, f. 13.

²⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, f. 10.

from what is in the books of jurisprudence, which permit truce unrestrictedly when their is fear (*al-khawf*). However, you must realize! The fear that is mentioned in the books of jurisprudence is fear of the extermination of al-Islam and its people. It is not fear for ones self and ones wealth that this truce is made. For how can fear for oneself and wealth be a justification at the time of the disgrace of al-Islam, when, '*Allah has purchased from the believers their selves and their wealth*'.²⁰⁸

The third section of the letter of Mudi Abdu discusses the legal concept and limits of *hijra* (emigration). The issue of *hijra* is the central thesis of the letter because in the introduction he quotes the famous prophetic tradition concerning *hijra*. In the first section he establishes that the *jihad* is obligatory and there is no excuse for anyone to abandon it, likewise:

"...also there is no justification for forsaking the emigration (*hijra*). Because the fear of separation from the homeland, the fear of loss of wealth, and the weakness of the dependents does not prevent one from the *hijra*. For if that be your defense, then it is only the excuse of a liar, clinging to humiliation and reliance upon false interpretation (*tawil baatil*).²⁰⁹

In the second section on armistice and truce, Mudi Abdu says that when the truce and armistice is made under false condition, wherein the Muslims are forced to be under the jurisdiction of the Europeans, "then *hijra* becomes absolutely obligatory". Therefore the concept of *hijra* is stressed in every section of the letter. In the third section, Mudi Abdu, begins by quoting *Shehu* Uthman Dan Fuduye's Bayan Wujub'l-Hijra `Ala'l-Ibaad, who demonstrates the obligation upon every Muslim to make the *hijra* from the lands of the disbelievers.²¹⁰ He gives evidence from the Qur'an, the *sunna* and the consensus; and he further gives his own opinion which allows no one an excuse for neglecting the obligation.

Finally, *Alkali* Mudi Abdu gives his legal decision (*fatwa*) regarding the crucial issue of how the *Caliphate* should deal with the European invasion. He say:

"Therefore, if you have considered all the above, then realize that our emigration (*hijra*) is obligatory in these times because our fighting (*qitaal*) the Europeans will not bring any harm to them. Further, the terms of truce (*al-muhadinah*) is not permitted as we have said previously. Thus, the stipulation of flight (*al-firaar*) is in order to preserve Islam and the continuance of its people. This is because our continuance under these conditions (truce with the Europeans wherein we have not the means to defend ourselves and Islam against them) - would be the chief reason for the Europeans to exterminate Islam and its people."²¹¹

The *Caliphate* was in turmoil and it needed a steady voice to awaken it from its sleep. None of the *Wazirs* nor officials had any clear answers until *Alkali* Mudi Abdu finished writing his letter. He had it read to the *Lamido* Zubayru and the other officials

²⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, f. 12.

²⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, f. 8.

²¹⁰ *Ibid.*, ff. 12-14.

²¹¹ *Ibid.*, f. 19.

of Adamawa. Immediately the choice was made to make the *hijra* from Adamawa to the *emirates* which were still secure from the Christians.

On November 2 1901, the British with superior fire power successfully attacked and occupied the town of Yola, causing the *Lamido* Zubayru and many of his loyal officials to flee the city.²¹² With the *Lamido* gone, the Germans occupied the southern *emirates* of Adamawa.²¹³ The British tried to get *Lamido* Zubayru to come back to Adamawa, because how could the Europeans rule a land when everyone was fleeing. The *Lamido* refused and instead had his scribes to write letters to the people of Yola, Girei, and Namtari calling upon the Muslim community to make the *hijra* and follow him to a new country, because the '*hour of the Christians*' had arrived.²¹⁴

It was during this period that the *Lamido* Zubayru decided to dispatch his decision with a copy of the legal *Risaala* of Mudi Abdu to the *Caliph* Abdur Rahman in the middle of October. In this letter *Lamido* Zubayru said:

"After greetings: to inform you of the terrible trouble which has befallen us. The Christians have brought war on us. . . Further, to tell you that the rule of the Christians has reached our town Yola, only but not over me as I made the *hijra* and those with me . . . You will learn, If Allah wills, of the position between us and the Christians. I will not be double-faced with you and the Christians. My oath of allegiance is to you by Allah and the Prophet and after you to *Imam Mahdi*. I shall not follow the unbelievers even if my towns are captured. The Prophet has declared that he who joins his abode with the disbelievers or dwells with him, is among them."²¹⁵

It is clear from the above that the course of action charted by *Alkali* Mudi Abdu became the policy of the Adamawa emirates; which meant all those who refused to make *hijra* were in effect breaking the oath of allegiance to the *Lamido*. *Lamido* Zubayru had scribes to send copies of Mudi Abdu's letter to the *Amir* of Kano. On receiving and reading the dispatch the *Amir* of Kano, Aliyu ibn Yusef also accepted the *fatwa* of Mudi Abdu as the policy for the Kano *emirates*. This was reflected in a letter which Aliyu ibn Yusef sent to the *Wazir* al-Bukhari. It states:

"I have seen your letter and honor it. We clearly understand from it . . .that both we and you seek a plan which will be of assistance to our religion and to earth and heaven. I have found no more useful plan for all Muslims and for us and you, . . . that we make *hijra* from this country all of us."²¹⁶

Once the *Caliph* read the policy created by *Alkali* Mudi Abdu and saw its consistency with the Qur'an, the *sunna*, the consensus, and the eschatological beliefs of the *Shehu* concerning the '*hour of the Christians*' - he declared that this policy would be adopted by the whole of the *Caliphate*. Thus, the people were to make ready for the long awaited 'journey to the east' often talked about by the older generations who could remember the songs and poems of the *Shehu*. *Caliph* Abdur Rahman now had a decisive answer for the many letters received from Lugard. In May 1902 the *Caliph* dispatched to Lugard the following message:

²¹² _Sa`id Abubakar, p. 146.

²¹³ _Ibid., p. 146.

²¹⁴ _Ibid.

²¹⁵ _H.F. Blackwell, pp. 67-68.

²¹⁶ _Ibid., pp. 72-73.

"From you to us. I do not consent that any one from you should ever dwell with us. I will never agree with you. I will have nothing ever to do with you. Between us and you there are no dealings except as Muslims and disbelievers - *jihad* - as Allah ta`ala has enjoined on us. . ."217

Although the *Caliphate* was facing major unrest, yet the structure of the government and its operations were still working smoothly. The *Caliphate* now emerged with unified policy on how to deal with the European threat. The one person responsible for creating that policy was the *Alkali* of Adamawa, Mudi Abdu. Although the idea of *hijra* was quite popular with the masses of the people, the scholar notables, most of the *Amirs*, there was still problems from some of the officials.

The fact is that many of the officials had become entrenched in their positions in the *Caliphate*, with all of the government revenues, gifts and annual tributes. Many were not willing to give up the pomp and grandeur which went along with having positions in the *Caliphate* to make the *hijra* into strange territory. Among the reluctant leaders of this group was none other than the *Waziri* al-Bukhari. Another official who opposed making the *hijra* was the *Marafa* Muhammad Maiturare. He perhaps more than the *Wazir* had his eye on the post of *Caliph* after the death of Abdur Rahman. Thus, he did not want the upheaval that *hijra* would entail.

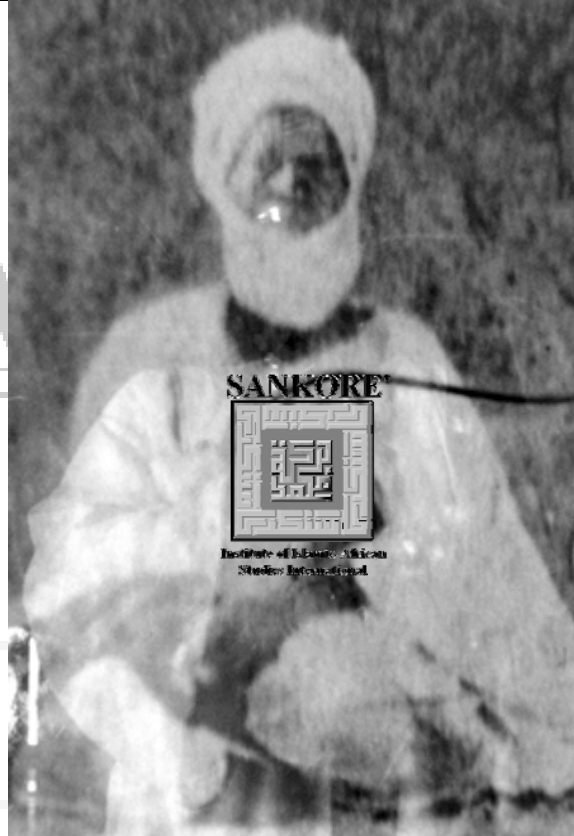
Caliph Abdur Rahman died on 10 October 1902 at the age of 76. He ruled for 12 years. After his death the oath of allegiance was given to the *Sarkin Sudan*, Muhammad Attahiru, (*rahmatu Allah `alayhi*), on 13 October 1902. The new *Caliph* was a very simple man, famous for wearing all white, which was a custom of *Shehu* Uthman Dan Fuduye'. It was his personal piety and austerity which gained him support from the people. He was renowned for his justice and integrity in all affairs. The most significant element about Muhammad Attahiru was that he was *sarkin sudan*. The significance of this is that exactly 100 years earlier *Shehu* Uthman Dan Fuduye' composed his 'Song of the Journey to the East', where he said: "*When the ruler of the Muslims goes to Mecca, we must pray, and make ready our goods to go with him.*"218 This song, as many believed, referred to the twelfth *Caliph* of the Uthmani Sokoto Government, Muhammad Attahiru. The *baraka* of the *Shehu* was persistent, Attahiru had the flag. IT DID NOT TOUCH THE GROUND!

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²¹⁷ H.F. Blackwell, pp. 13-14.

²¹⁸ C.H. Robinson, pp. 64-66.

V. 'The Hour of the Christians and the Journey to the East'



Amir'l-Mu'mineen Muhammad Attahiru ibn Ahmad Zaruku ibn Abu Bakr Atiku ibn *Shehu* Uthman Dan Fuduye', may Allah be merciful to him

In a letter to the Colonial Office from Lugard on May 1 1903, he made a very revealing statement which attested to the excellent intelligence work of the British Government. He said:

"A prophecy of the founder of the Fulani dynasty predicted the fall of the empire during this year, and I believe that the fatalism of these Mohammedans has prepared them to accept their destiny. So far as I can learn the vast bulk of the population Pagans, Hausas and Mohammedan slaves - who hate the Fulani oppression, would welcome the advent of Europeans."²¹⁹

It is clear from the above statement by Lugard that the eschatological beliefs of the '*hour of the Christians*' as foretold by *Shehu* Uthman Dan Fuduye' was widely known to the English as well as the indigenous African Muslims of the *Caliphate*. This belief is what created policy and this policy of non-submission to the European Christians had been a consistent official line for 100 years. The response to European hegemony was delineated a century in advance as emigration (*hijra*) and the *Caliphate* had been awaiting the time of the 'journey to the east' from that time onward. The *Shehu* informed his followers of the very route they would take to escape the Christians. In fact, *hijra* has been the classical Islamic response to aggression and oppression ever since Prophet

²¹⁹ C.W. Newbury, *British Policy Towards West Africa: Selected Documents 1875-1914*, (Clarendon Press, Oxford), 1971, p.335.

Muhammad sent his earliest followers on the *hijra* to Abyssinia and since his own famous *hijra* from Mecca to Madina.

Thus it is not surprising when the *Caliphate* chose *hijra* as its response to British imperialism. From 1894 until 1902 the British had successfully conquered all the southern regions of the *Caliphate*. These wars were the cause of many mass *hijra*s from under their rule into the regions east of Adamawa, Kano and into Sokoto.

Mass *hijra* did not suite the wishes of the British, for how could they rule a land with little or no people? Thus it became paramount to halt the *hijra* at all cost. It is for that reason That Lugard and his officers decided to approach Sokoto from the east. The *Shehu* prophesied that the *hijra* would move from Sokoto, then to Kano, then into Adamawa, and from there towards the Nile River. It is not surprising then that Lugard's officers first conquered Adamawa and the southern emirates first. Their next move was to conquer Kano allowing no escape for the people of Sokoto.

Lugard appointed Col. T.N. Morland to command the expedition to Kano of about 800 men.²²⁰ On 3 February around 8 a.m. the fighting began and by noon the British had stormed the gates of Kano and with their powerful Maxim guns were able to demoralize those Muslim warriors of Kano who dared put up a fight. More than 300 Muslims were killed in this battle.²²¹ Moreland assumed the Residency over Kano, while many of the Muslims made the *hijra* eastward towards Burmi while others went to Sokoto.

The British after conquering Kano, now set their sights upon Sokoto. The *Caliph* Muhammad Attahiru decided to follow the policy of *hijra* in accordance with the previous government's decision. The *Caliph* aided the former *Amir* of Kano, Aliyu ibn Yusef in obtaining letters of passage to Mecca. Thus, *Amir* Aliyu started off early towards the east. The rest of the population began preparing camels, mules, sandals and other necessities for the journey.

However, in the early morning of 15 March 1903, the British were outside the gates of Sokoto. The *Caliph* Muhammad Attahiru came out with his army of about 6000 men. The Muslim army was divided into three groups: the center group was led by the *Caliph*; the left flank was led by the *Sarkin Rabah*, Ibrahim; and the *Marafa* Muhammad Maiturare led the right flank.²²²

When the British started firing their Maxim guns, they had immobilized the Muslim forces within 20 minutes. By 9:30 a.m. resistance from the *Caliphate* had been broken, with about 100 Muslim were killed and none of the British were killed. After this initial defeat the *Caliph*, the *Ubamdoma*, the Chief Judge of Adamawa Mudi Abdu, his son the Supreme Justice Ahmed ibn Mudi Abdu, the *Dan Maji*, the *Dan Magaji*, the *Dan Waziri*, the *Sarkin Kwoni*, and the *Madaki* - were among the officials who accompanied Attahiru on the *hijra* towards the east. Tens of thousands of the common people joined the *Caliph* Attahiru on his *hijra* . This was the cause of the city being completely deserted when the British column marched into the city at 11:00 a.m..²²³

Those who decided to collaborate with the Christians were Waziri al-Bukhari, the *Galadima*, the *Marafa*, *Amir* of the army and the *Magajin Gari*.²²⁴ Their justification

²²⁰ _ R.A. Adeleye, p.267.

²²¹ _ Ibid., 273.

²²² _ Ibid., 282.

²²³ _ Ibid., p.283.

²²⁴ _ Murray Last, p.176.

being that in order to preserve Muslims from harm, it was permissible by consensus for the Imam or his agent to give friendship to the disbelievers when the Muslim leave in fear of them and are not strong enough to oppose their power.²²⁵ And further Lugard promised the Muslims that he would not interfere with their religion.

This group of collaborators demonstrated their lack of understanding of the law and they manifested what was hidden in their characters. The proofs upon which *Waziri al-Bukhari* made his decision had been depreciated succinctly by *Alkali Mudi Abdu*, when he said:

"However, if one allows the permissibility (*al-jawaaz*) of making truce with the Europeans out of fear, due to the fact that their weapons are stronger in causing destruction than our weapons. Consequently, if the Muslims fight them, it will result in the complete extermination of all the Muslims. Due to this, the permissibility of making truce is allowed, even though it leads to what is not permissible from the legal rulings which condition the truce. The reply to that is that the terms of truce with them under the above conditions will also result in the extermination and the complete destruction of al-Islam. Inasmuch, as the scent of al-Islam will no longer remain. Like what we have openly witnessed in many of the countries which the Christians have conquered. This is regarding the above mentioned affliction of the gradual and unending destruction of the religion. Allah ta'ala says, "And treachery never ceases to appear from them." And further, He says, "*The Jews and Christians will never be satisfied with you until you follow their way of life.*" Here the All Knowing, the Aware informs us that their sole ambition is to destroy the religion of Muhammad, may Allah bless him and grant him peace. Thus, fellowship with them and conclusion of truce with them will never make them satisfied with us. For this reason, if the terms of truce is made under the above conditions, then emigration (*hijra*) becomes obligatory by all means. This ruling is according to the consensus (*ijma'*) of the Muslims concerning the prohibition of Muslims residing under the sovereignty of the disbelievers."²²⁶

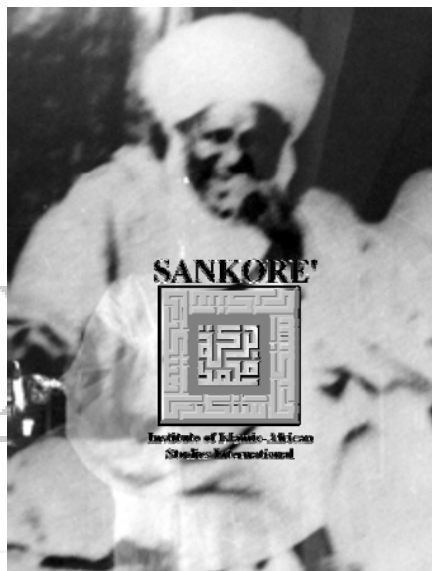
Thus, not only was the judgment of those who remained behind not justified by the *shari'a*, they were also in open disobedience to the *Caliph*, who gave the order to make the *hijra*. According to the *Shehu Uthman's* vision in 1803, "apostates, collaborators and deceivers would not go and would remain in the west, settling among the Christian European's jurisdiction until the anti-Christ comes out against them."²²⁷

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²²⁵ R.A. Adeleye, p.284.

²²⁶ _ Alkali Mudi Abdu, ff.10-11.

²²⁷ _ Abu Bakr Atiku, ff.23-31.



Sultan Muhammad ibn Ali ibn Muhammad Bello, known as Muhammad Attahiru II, who was appointed by Lugard as the *Sultan* of Sokoto in 1903

These same collaborators met together on 21 March 1903 and elected Muhammad ibn Ali ibn Bello as their new 'sultan'. Lugard, the real leader, then gave the new 'sultan' a turban and a gown, and he officially recognized his authority. According the Adeleye, the new 'sultan' was :

"...deprived of political control over the emirates. The all important right over appointment and deposition of *Amirs* was formally transferred to the British. Thus, the *Caliphate's* central government was dissolved and with it the political obligations and subservience of the *Amirs* of Sokoto. The Sultan was in fact no more than an *Amir* of Sokoto."²²⁸

Meanwhile the legitimate *Caliph* Attahiru was still alive and leading an ever increasing number of people towards the east. Lugard had earned the hostility of the common people of the *Caliphate* to European rule. The people, as has been demonstrated, were well aware of the prophecies of the founder of the *Caliphate* and being a committed Islamic community, in times of turmoil they reverted back to the Islamic ideals upon which the *Caliphate* was originally built. The scholars and notables who had collaborated with the Europeans had in one day destroyed the very foundations which had been established by *Shehu* Uthman Dan Fuduye', Abdullahi Dan Fuduye', and Muhammad Bello.

One of the fundamental ideas of government in Islam was the principle of the *imamate* and his qualifications. Each of the founding fathers of the *Caliphate* delineated these principles and they had been adhered to by every generation, until now. *Shehu* Uthman said in his *Bayan Wujub'l-Hijra* ; "...and a further condition is that there should be only one *imam*,...'According to consensus it is not permitted for there to be more than one *imam* at the same time and in the same place. For the Prophet said, 'Whoever pledges allegiance to an *imam*, giving him his hand in ratification thereof and pledges his sincerest agreement, must obey him to the best of his ability. If another comes to contest the office with him, strike off the latter's head'; and in another account, 'strike him with

²²⁸ _ R.A. Adeleye, pp.288-289.

the sword, whoever he may be'.²²⁹

Based upon this, the appointing of Muhammad ibn Ali ibn Bello as *sultan* was illegal, from an Islamic point of view. None of the Muslims of the *Caliphate* were bound to obey him and based upon the above they were obligated to depose him. The majority of the scholars and the common people realized this and as a result slowly began to join the legitimate *Caliph* Attahiru. In the few months following the fall of Sokoto, the British were confronted with the reasserting of the basic unity of the *Caliphate*, symbolized by *Caliph* Attahiru. Thus, Muslim resistance to the Europeans was resumed with a vehemence and tenacity of purpose which threatened the establishment of British power. Its immediate and fullest expression was in the *hijra* of Attahiru the *Sarkin Sudan*. The people began to recall the song of the *Shehu*, 'the Song of the Journey to the East'; and the vision of the *Shehu* when saw that: "The people of the *ribats* and their successors, the true followers of the *Shehu*, would go on the journey to the east guided by the light and *baraka* of the *Shehu*."²³⁰

Because of the popular support which the *Caliph* enjoyed and because of the breach of the promise which Lugard made not to interfere with the religion of the Muslims - the *Waziri* al-Bukhari began to have second thoughts about this collaboration which was brought about at the hands of the officials. This caused him to write his *Risalat 'l-Wazir Ila Ahl'l-'Ilm wa't-Taddabir* (The Letter of the Wazir to the People of Knowledge and Reflection). In this work the *Wazir* showed open resentment for collaborating with the British. He discussed the soundness of the opinion of *Alkali* Mudi Abdu that the truce with the Europeans was not valid and that the people should make the *hijra* from these lands.²³¹ He also demonstrated regret for disobeying the *Caliph*, rejecting him and allowing the British to illegally appoint another one while the legitimate *Caliph* was still alive. Another collaborator, the *Alkali* of Gwandu, Ahmed ibn Sa`ad, responded to the letter of the *Wazir*; and reassured him that his decision for the Muslims to reside with the Christians under truce was for the preservation of the lands of Islam. He consoled him saying that his decisions were the most correct opinion from the point of view of the *shari`a*.²³²

And to demonstrate how popular the letter of *Alkali* Mudi Abdu was, *Alkali* Ahmed ibn Sa`ad said: "As for the conclusion which our brother Abdullahi came to which is that our truce with the British will lead to the destruction of Islam; it is not so, rather that is his deductions and the assessment of his own opinion."²³³

Mention was made earlier of the full name of *Alkali* Mudi Abdu being *Modibbo* Abdullahi ibn Muhammad Bellel and his nickname was *Habba Daniju* (which means the 'brilliant white pearl'). It is clear that the "our brother Abdullahi" referred to is none other than *Alkali* Mudi Abdu. The controversy over the identity of this Abdullahi began with Professor Adeleye, who said that he was Shaykh Abdullahi Dan Fuduye', one of the founding fathers of the *Caliphate*. This is erroneous for four reasons: [1] the use of the term "our brother" is normally used for someone who is a familiar friend, contemporary

²²⁹ _ Uthman Dan Fuduye', p.64.

²³⁰ _ Abu Bakr Atiku, ff.23-31.

²³¹ _ Al-Amin Abu Manga, p.22.

²³² _ R.A. Adeleye, "The Dilemma of the Wazir: the Place of the *Risalat al-Wazir Li Ahl'l-'Ilm wa'l-Tababbur* in the History of the Conquest of the Sokoto *Caliphate*", *Journal of the Historical Society of Nigeria*, Vol.4, No.2, pp.285-311.

²³³ _ Ibid.

to the time of the speaker and equal in terms of social status; [2] the *Alkali* Ahmed ibn Sa`ad was a descendent of *Shaykh* Abdullahi Dan Fuduye', so how could he refer to his ancestor as "our brother Abdullahi"; [3] it was the custom of latter generation scholars that whenever they mentioned Uthman Dan Fuduye', Abdullahi Dan Fuduye' or Muhammad Bello, they would qualify their names with term like '*Shehu*', '*ustadh*', and '*amir'l-mu'mineen*' respectively; and [4] the wording which *Alkali* Ahmed cites from this Abdullahi, namely, "our truce with the British will lead to the destruction of Islam", are the exact words taken from the *Risaalat wa Naseehat* of *Alkali* Mudi Abdu.

It is clear from this that the legal decision (*fatwa*) of Mudi Abdu became the official policy of the state. The dilemma which the *Wazir* felt was justified because his refusing to make the *hijra* as the *Caliph* commanded amounted to insubordination and treason. The reassurance of *Alkali* Ahmed was also treason because a policy which had been raised up to the level of 'national security' and had been promoted by the *Caliph* as the procedure to follow was no longer "his deductions and the assessment of his own opinion". But the ruling of Supreme Justice Mudi Abdu once the *Caliph* made it policy became in affect the law. Thus, *Waziri* al-Bukhari and *Alkali* Ahmed ibn Sa`ad were involved in high treason and had colluded with the very enemies which the *Shehu* and all the *Caliphs* of the foregoing century had forewarned them about.

Thus to all those who remained loyal to the ideals of the *Shehu* and the *Caliphate* their resistance was canalized into one mass movement which gave expression to British opposition. Regardless of what the British thought of their new puppet 'sultan' or even what the collaborators knew about him, the masses saw *Caliph* Attahiru as the revolutionary leader whose *hijra* threatened to invalidate all the efforts which Lugard had become so proud.

From March to July 1903 the *Caliph* created an epic movement which, even the colonial officers who harassed them admitted, had an element of fascination about it. It was said that the mass movement hymned the *Shehu*'s 'Song of the Journey to East' as a way of demonstrating the *baraka* (spiritual blessings) of the *Shehu* was with them. Adeleye captures the spirit of this movement when he said: "More important to the history of the fall of the *Caliphate*, however, was the mass movement to which his *hijra* gave rise. The spontaneity with which his subjects in the *emirates* - across section of all classes of society - flocked to join his banner, confirmed where their real allegiance lay."²³⁴

Among the officials of Sokoto there was much confusion and disloyalty. Because they had abandoned the *Caliph* and the teachings of their fathers, there only remained among them unrest and mistrust for one another. This was clearly demonstrated among the middle class farmers. The British official Burdon reported in April 1903 that "the officials of Sokoto were neither loyal to the fugitive *Caliph* or to the British"²³⁵. The *Shehu* said in his song of the Journey:

"*Da masubida fa ya ki bin forn ubamu su tara gidida da su da wutan jahima*"

"He who refuses to follow the instruction of our fathers will be partners in the abode of those who are in the Fire."

²³⁴ _ R.A. Adeleye, Power and Diplomacy, p.293.

²³⁵ _ Ibid.,p.294.

On March 25 the *Caliph* Attahiru sent letters in all directions, condemning those who collaborated and accepted the rule of the disbelievers, declaring his objective to make the *hijra* eastward to the place where the *Shehu* had promised them. The proposed destination was the Blue Nile as had been foretold by the *Shehu*.²³⁶ People responded to his call in large numbers. About this the *Shehu* said:

"*Izan sarki Musulmi zashi makka akayi muna addua amushira kaya.*"

"When the ruler of the Muslims goes to Mecca We must pray, and make ready our goods to go with him."

The popular appeal enjoyed by the *Caliph's hijra* arose from the beliefs among the masses of the perpetual *baraka* of *Shehu* Uthman Dan Fuduye' and their absolute dissatisfaction with the rule of the English Christians. They saw *Caliph* Attahiru as the *Imam* of the *Caliphate* who would save the *jama`at* of the *Shehu* from disintegration. Thus, when the *Caliph* arrived at Kutarkushi on March 31, Abubakar, the *Amir* of Katsina sent him messages warning him of the nearness of Lugard and his forces and he sent him large amounts of provision for his people. This support was given from many of the *emirates* in a secret way in order to keep the Christians from knowing his whereabouts.²³⁷ The *Shehu* said:

"*Zama kasan zama domin larura akoi guzuri ku basu ku samu lada*

"If any of you stay at home, staying of necessity, if you have edibles give to those who make *hijra*, you will be rewarded"

This demonstrated the on going loyalty that the notables as well as the common had for *Caliph* Attahiru. While the *Caliph* moved eastward the British followed close behind. At every town or village the *Caliph* paused, hordes of people joined his *hijra*. Those who could not join would supply the people with foodstuffs, fresh animals and clothing. Whenever the British came upon those same villages they would either find that they had been completely evacuated or the people refused to sell food to them.²³⁸ Adeleye points out: "At a village called Karigi, for instance, the inhabitants did not just refuse to sell food to Crowley's column but proceeded to shoot arrows at them when they attempted to search their houses. At another village called Tudun Wada the gates were shut and the walls were lined with bowmen ready to give battle. All the towns repeatedly reiterated their resolve to have nothing to do with the white man, while their chiefs, leading the revolts, conveniently blamed the uprisings on the peasants."²³⁹

The British columns continued to harass the *Caliph*, whose entourage increased at a rate which caused alarm among the Europeans. The *Caliph* sent emissaries among all the lands telling people not to sit in peace under the disbelievers, but to join him not in a

²³⁶ _ Abu Bakr Atiku, f.23.

²³⁷ _ R.A. Adeleye, Power and Diplomacy, 296.

²³⁸ _ Ibid., p.297.

²³⁹ _ Ibid.

war against the whites, but in a *hijra* to Mecca or to Adamawa. As he proceeded eastward and his following increased, notables as well as the plebeians flocked to him with their families and goods.²⁴⁰ It is said that even the blind and lame joined hoping that the *Caliph* would take them to meet the Mahdi. The *Shehu* foretold in his 'Song of the Journey to the East':

"Da salihai da muminaɪ ku tashi mu roki ubangizimu shi kaimu tari
 Munafikai da kafirai ku zamna ku ber murna wuta atashiku baia
 Mu roki ubangizi sarki sarota izan muna tashi mu yi guzuri da asna
 Da matanmu da yayanmu da bai du da dukoki musulmi zama tari
 Makafinmu guragunmu da tsofi wani kaki zulumi duka zamu tari
 Mu kua taffi babu kishirua babu yunwa shikin dadi muna murna da juna
 Da yi allah da albarkar waliya ya kaimu gari da ankaraba da kowa."

"You who are upright and believers rise up we pray that our Lord will let us go together
 You hypocrites and disbelievers stay put stop rejoicing for the Fire will devour you later
 We pray that our Lord, King of the Cosmos when we leave, that we get the goods for our journey away from the heathens
 With our wives, our children, our servants and our goods, we Muslims will go together
 And our blind, our lame, our aged and whoever is oppressed, we will all go together
 We will travel too without thirst or hunger and rejoice in that which is sweet one with another
 By the power of Allah, and the *baraka* of our saint (*Shehu* Uthman)
 He will bring us to the place (the Nile) where a share will be granted to all."

Lugard's policy had been to harass the multitudes gathering round the *Caliph*. Around May 7 Attahiru and his people reached Missau where they met with the *Amir* Ahmed ibn Muhammad. In the same place was the descendent of Umar al-Futi of Segu, Bashir ibn Ahmed ibn Umar. This augmented the forces of Attahiru so much that it caused the Col. Sword to write; "Attahiru's following is immense; his people are said to take from sunrise to mid-day passing. The *Sarkin Muslumi* has now many thousands of people with him. The whole population from Kano to the Gongola have joined with him."²⁴¹

On May 17 a British column caught Attahiru at Gwoni and scattered part of his forces. From there *Caliph* Attahiru continued on the Birni being chased by more than five columns of British forces. In the middle of June, Attahiru arrived at Burmi, where his forces joined with the Mahdists forces of Jibrila ibn Gaina. Thus, in Burmi there were the Qadiriya, Tijaniya and Mahdiya forces joined together under the banner of Attahiru. The forces at Burmi represented at least four different *Caliphates*. Among them were the *Caliphate* of Segu, the *Caliphate* of Massina, the Mahdists *Caliphate* of Hayatu led by Malam Jibrila, the Mahdists *Caliphate* of Rabih and the Sokoto *Caliphate*.

The Battle of Burmi is reputed to be one of the greatest battles the British had to

²⁴⁰ Umar al-Naqar, p.89.

²⁴¹ R.A. Adeleye, p.301.

fight. On the 27 July at 11 a.m. the British began their offensive against Burmi. Several times the British tried to enter the town but were driven off with arrow fire from Muslim freedom fighters. The morale of the Muslims in Burmi was unbroken in spite of the total use of the Maxim guns and canons by the British. Even the women played their part, bringing food and water to the warriors.

By 1 p.m. the British had managed to get in the town and burn homes and buildings. However, the Muslim freedom fighters were undaunted and managed to drive them out. During this skirmish, one of the British officers, Major Marsh, was killed. An hour later another British force entered the town, while another charged the walls. The defense of the Muslims in Burmi was so strong that Col. Sword was forced to send for more reinforcements.

During this lull the *Caliph* Attahiru gathered his officials. Among them was his three sons, the chief judge Ahmed ibn Mudi Abdu, his father the *Alkali* Mudi Abdu, the *Magajin* Keffi, the *Amir* of Bida, the *Amir* of Missau, the *Galadima*, Bashir ibn Ahmed of Segu, and Alfa Hashim. In front of these witnesses the *Caliph* informed his two oldest sons to return to Sokoto to help straighten out matters there. He then took the hand of his youngest son the *Mai Wurno*, Muhammad Bello, who was nicknamed *Dan Sokoto* and appointed him as the *Caliph* to lead the *hijra* to the banks of the Nile.²⁴² It is not surprising that like his father Muhammad Bello held the post of *sarkin sudan*. The title *Mai Wurno* denoted that he was the *Amir* of the *ribat* of Wurno. The official who held this post was given the title *Sarkin Sudan* and was expected to be the next in line for the position of *Caliph* of the Sokoto *Caliphate*.

At 5:30 p.m. the British faced the last desperate struggle near the mosque of Burmi. It lasted for about an hour, after which the mosque stood in ruins. More than 600 Muslim bodies lay dead, testifying to the unyielding and courageous nature of their resistance. Among them lay the body of the twelfth *Caliph* of the Sokoto *Caliphate* Muhammad Attahiru ibn Ahmed Zaruku ibn Abu Bakr Attiku ibn *Shehu* Uthman Dan Fuduye'. One of the British officers William Wallace said about the bravery of Attahiru and his men:

"Our recent experiences show that the poorer people and the numerous chiefs collected at Burmi, knew how to die when facing the enemy. . .our success was due the great stopping power of our bullets, mark IV, which was one of the principle factors leading to our success. Without this ammunition our success would have been doubtful."²⁴³

There is no doubt that the Muslim warriors of Burmi demonstrated fortitude and relentless courage against great odds. However, the cause for which they were fighting was much greater than themselves. It was not land or any material items which they were fighting for. These were men and women of Allah who had been so transformed by their belief in Allah, that their lives, wealth and homeland became insignificant in comparison.

Those who managed to escape in order to continue with the *hijra* to the east were the new *Caliph* Muhammad Bello Mai Wurno, Ahmedu ibn Salih the *Amir* of Missau, Alfa Hashim, the chief *Alkali* of Sokoto Ahmed, and his father about whom this study is about *Alkali* Mudi Abdu. Of these Ahmedu made it to eastern Sudan where he founded a

²⁴² _ Umar al-Naqar, p.89.

²⁴³ _ R.A. Adeleye, p.309-10.

village called Hadija.²⁴⁴ Alfa Hashim made it to Madina in the Hijaz where he settled and continued to write many Islamic works.²⁴⁵ The new *Caliph* Muhammad Bello Mai Wurno made it to the Blue Nile in 1906 with thousands of followers loyal to the Sokoto *Caliphate*. There he founded a village called Mai Wurno, where the faithful supporters of *Shehu* Uthman Dan Fuduye' still reside.²⁴⁶

Both *Alkali* Ahmed and his famous father, the author of the document which caused the massive *hijra* to the east - Mudi Abdu, accompanied *Caliph* Muhammad Bello Mai Wurno to the Sudan.²⁴⁷ *Alkali* Ahmed was able to make it to Mai Wurno to initiate a center of Islamic learning in the town.²⁴⁸ He had two sons that we know of named *Shaykh* Bashir and *Shaykh* Mahmud. The homes of both *Shaykh* Bashir and *Shaykh* Mahmud were centers for the study of various Islamic sciences including literature.²⁴⁹ *Shaykh* Bashir ibn Ahmed authored a voluminous work on the history of the Fulani, which is still preserved in the Center for Documents in Naimi, Niger. He died in 1977. His brother *Shaykh* Mahmud acted as the secretary for the local court of *Caliph* Muhammad Attahiru ibn Mai Wurno in Mai Wurno. He was a religious teacher and guide who was licensed by the Ministry of Religious Affairs in Khartoum. He also acted as an official appointed by the judge to perform civil marriages in Mai Wurno, until he died in 1974. *Shaykh* Mahmud had a son *Shaykh* Attayyib (55 years old) who is presently the principle of the Mai Wurno Elementary School. He is an extremely cultured man and is involved with both political and religious work in the Sudan. Along with being one of my key teachers in Mai Wurno, he is involved with trying to revive the excellent traditions of his great grandfather in the fields of knowledge and jurisprudence.

Our Mudi Abdu, whose full name was *Modibbo* Abdullahi ibn Muhammad Bellel and who was famous as *Hubbat Danijo* ('the brilliant white pearl'), made the *hijra* into Sudan accompanied by a host of followers and students. Being of advanced age (91), he did not make it to the Blue Nile. Rather he died while in the process of making the *hijra* in western Sudan and is buried at a place called Idiyyatu Zakariya near al-Ubayyid in Kordofan. After years of judiciary and social reform in the emirate of Adamawa, and after single handedly saving the *Caliphate* from the onslaught of the '*hour of the Christians*' - Mudi Abdu died doing the very thing he lived for - *hijra*. Thus, he died on what he lived and we hope and pray he will be resurrected on what he died. There is no Qur'anic verse more fitting to describe the life of this unyielding soldier for social justice than the following.

*"Whoever makes the hijra in the way of Allah, will find in the earth many places of sanctuary and abundance. And whoever goes forth from his land making the hijra to Allah and His Messenger, and then death overtakes him, his reward will be with Allah; surely Allah is all forgiving all merciful."*²⁵⁰

The *hijra* which *Shehu* Uthman Dan Fuduye' foretold, finally arrived on the banks of the Blue Nile in the beginning of 1906. The head of the *hijra* and the new

²⁴⁴ Ibid., p.311.

²⁴⁵ Umar al-Naqar, p.21.

²⁴⁶ Ibid., p.89-90.

²⁴⁷ Al-Amin Abu Manga, p.23.

²⁴⁸ Ibid., p.43.

²⁴⁹ Ibid.

²⁵⁰ Qur'an.

Caliph of the community of the *Shehu* in the east was Muhammad Bello Mai Wurno. The town he founded was named Mai Wurno. According to *Caliph* Ahmed Rufai in his work *Alamaat Khuruuj'l-Mahdi*, this *Caliph* would be known as the *Amir* of Sudan.²⁵¹ *Caliph* Muhammad Bello Mai Wurno ruled his people and all those who came to him from the now defunct Sokoto *Caliphate* for 36 years. After him the authority was given to his son *Caliph* Muhammad Attahiru in 1940.²⁵² He ruled as Sultan of Mai Wurno for 29 years. After him the authority was given to his son Muhammad Bello, who died the following year in 1970.



Amir'l-Mu'mineen Muhammad Bello Mai Wurno ibn Muhammad Attahiru ibn Ahmad Zaruku ibn Abi Bakr Atiku ibn *Shehu* Uthman Dan Fuduye', *rahimuhu Allah ta'ala*

After Muhammad Bello the oath of allegiance was given to his brother, **al-Hajj Abu Bakr**, who still holds the office of *Caliph* and *Amir'l-Mu'mineen* of the community of *Shehu* Uthman Dan Fuduye'. Sultan Abu Bakr is a tall dark skinned man with a very friendly and easy going character. There are no trappings around him to indicate his position or authority. Unlike that of Northern Nigeria, where the Sultan of Sokoto and his officials are all bedecked in pomp and splendid regalia; the authority and power of the Sultan of Mai Wurno is seen and felt at the end of every Ramadan, when he receives the tribute (*zakat'l-fitr*) and oath of allegiance from Fulani, Hausa and other Takarir, from as far away as Chad and Ethiopia. They all regard him as the legitimate and rightful Sultan of Sokoto. The people of Mai Wurno and the other West Africans (*takarir*) residing in Sudan continue to believe in the prediction of *Shehu* Uthman Dan Fuduye', concerning the appearance of the Mahdi. This neo-mahdists community has its own peculiar oral traditions concerning the role that the town of Mai Wurno will play at the appearance of

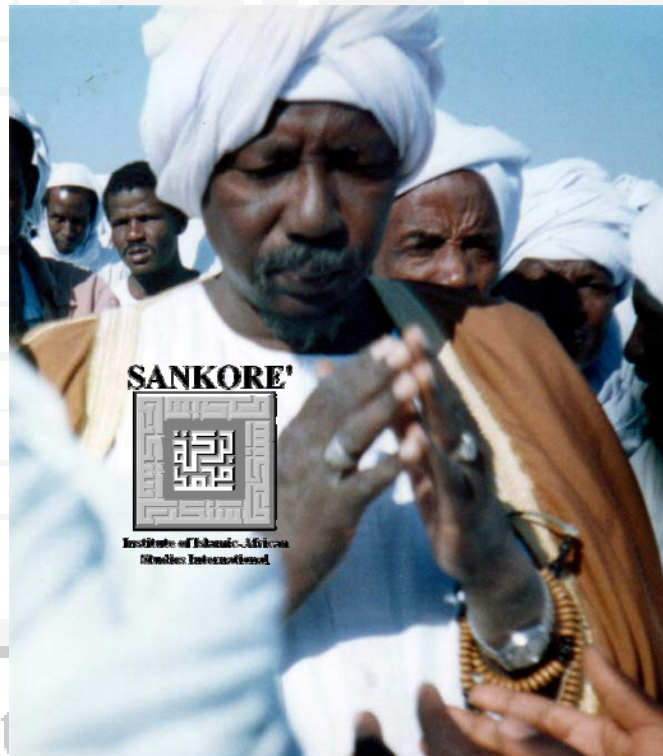
²⁵¹ _ Ahmad Rufai, f.6

²⁵² _ Al-Amin Abu Manga, p.43.

the Mahdi. The *Shehu* is reported to have predicted that the Mahdi will appear and give a flag of victory to the Sultan of Mai Wurno by which " a great Islamic empire will be founded on the Nile, whence the Fulani will return to recover their rule in Sokoto", and thence to conquer the entire *bilad's-sudan*²⁵³. The eschatological beliefs of the followers of *Shehu* Uthman Dan Fuduye' have proven to be extremely resilient and has for more than one hundred years (as this study has proven) given them vitality to overcome internal disintegration, European imperialism and their life in the Diaspora on the banks of the Nile. During this era of nightmares of computerized total control under globalized banking logistical domination - the community of the *Shehu* returns back to the *jihād* with the pen, preaching and calling people to the door of Allah.

Shehu Uthman! The Black Lion of the entire *bilad-sudan*

We are his lion cubs in this age, the young helpers of *nur'z-zamaan*
Like waves from his tidal wave, we slam *kufr*, *bid'a* and disobedience down
Shehu! We have the flag! We have the flag! It did not touch the ground!



Amir'l-Mu'mineen Sultan al-Hajj Abu Bakr ibn Muhammad at-Tahir ibn Muhammad Bello MaiWurno ibn Ahmad Zaruku ibn Abu Bakr Atiku ibn *Shehu* Uthman Dan Fuduye', *hafidhuhu Allah*

²⁵³ _ Obinna Anyadike, "Second Class Settlers", West Africa, No. 3713, October 10-16, 1988, p.1877.

VI The Implications of the *Risaalat wa'n-Naseehat* of Mudi Abdu

The *Risaalat* of Mudi Abdu has vast implications for the time it was composed and the present. In order for the British Imperialist to have justification for imposing their peculiar system of rule upon the Sokoto *Caliphate*, the office of *Caliph* had to be discredited and depicted as far inferior to what the British had to offer. Federic Lugard was speaking more from self delusion rather than fact when he said:

"So far as I can learn the vast bulk of the population - Pagan, Hausas and Mohammedan slaves - who hate the Fulani oppression, would welcome the advent of the Europeans . . . The Fulani . . . hate us rather as the power which is destined to accomplish their fall, and to put and end to their slave-raiding and extortion, than on any religious or racial grounds."²⁵⁴

It was these stupendous misconception about the motivations of the *Caliphate* which caused Lugard to underestimate the vigor by which European imperialism was fought. On the contrary, it was exactly the Crowns' religious fanaticism and racial prejudice combined with greed which caused them to overlook the real causes for the *hijra* of a large portion of the Sokoto *Caliphate*. Most of the officers of the Protectorate when referring to the *Caliph* used the term 'fugitive' and 'the ex-Sultan'. As if their pronouncements would make him so in the minds of the people of Sokoto. The British knew well that as long as *Caliph* Attahiru was alive then the so-called 'sultan' which they appointed would not be recognized by the notables or the common people.

Lugard advanced the idea that Attahiru had abandoned the *jam`at* of *Shehu* Uthman Dan Fuduye', thus giving rise for him to appoint a new one. The image was carefully painted that Attahiru had no real policy in dealing with the European threat and thus opted to simply flee; leaving behind *Waziri* al-Bukhari and Lugard to pick up the pieces. The importance and relevance of the *Risaala* of Mudi Abdu is that *Caliph* Attahiru, *Caliph* Abdur Rahman before him, and all the officials had a clear policy to deal with the British and any other European invader. And the policy was created at the inception of British imperialism. From ground zero the *Caliphate* knew how it would deal with European imperialism. The *Risaala* delineated this awareness in the most legalistic language possible. It is true that the officials of the *Caliphate* had a store of oral traditions, Fulbe and Hausa poems and eschatological writings about the coming of the Europeans a full century before the British ever considered Northern Nigeria as a possible land grab. However, these can be misinterpreted and dismissed when pragmatism demands. On the other hand clear legal injunction could not be dismissed nor misinterpreted. What is obligatory and what is forbidden is clear and cannot be dodged so easily. For this reason the *Risaala* took the visions of the *Shehu*, the oral traditions and the stories about the end of time, and the prophecy of the '*hour of the Christians*'- and couched them in the pragmatic legal language of what is permissible, forbidden, highly recommended, allowed and disliked. It for this reason that the controversial *Wazir* al-Bukhari was caught in a dilemma when every blameworthy characteristic described in the *Risaala* which would result from a truce with the Europeans gradually began to unfold before the *Wazir's* eyes. The *Risaala* took the

²⁵⁴ _ C.W. Newbury, p.335.

liquid ideals which were endemic to the *Caliphate*, solidified them and then forged them into a single weapon, which the *Caliphate* then picked up and utilized during its most crucial period of foreign invasion.

During the days of the Royal Niger Company, the officers for this venture were not above forging trade agreements and creating false political treatise to justify certain economic and political advantages which they desired. What would then stop the British Protectorate from destroying those documents which were inimical to European rule? The *Risaala* was the only legal document which challenged the presence of Europeans in Islamic Africa. The ideas in the *Risaala* created a uniform pattern of resistance right across the vast *Caliphate*. Its style of writing and the precedence upon which its legal decisions were built came from the very sources from which the *Caliphate* drew for its longevity and unity. The *Risaala* was deeply connected with the intellectual trends of the founding fathers of the state. This explains its universal acceptance among the officials of the *Caliphate* during the crisis of European intervention. The question then arises; Why was the *Risaala* so shrouded in mystery until Allah blessed me by means of the *baraka* of *Shehu* Uthman Dan Fuduye' to find it in 1987?²⁵⁵ None of the established historians of this period nor area specialist ever mentioned the *Risaala* in their works. Neither F.H. el-Misri, Murray Last, Mervyn Hiskett, John Willis, Prof. Muhammad al-Hajj, Abdullahi Smith, Sa`ad Abubakar or Umar al-Naqar discussed this work in their seminal studies. Each of these scholars have discussed the *hijra* of Attahiru to some degree, but have never made reference to the *Risaala*. Even when examination was made of the library holdings of the archives in Northern Nigeria, Niger, Burkina Faso and the Republic of Sudan, there was no record of it.

The question arises from this is why was this document not referred to by any of the contemporary historians? Why was it not mentioned by the scholars of that time? The probable causes for this can summed up into three:

1\ the severe circumstances of the people and the lack of political stability during that time resulting from the invasion of the British and their being preoccupied with the *hijra* - prevented them from recording it and having it propagated throughout the state.

2\ those who were in possession of this document feared for themselves against disseminating and circulating it, especially during the era of the attack from the British. Then eventually the document was forgotten and the new era did not place any real importance upon it, neither was its connection with history known.

3\ the more definite opinion is that the scholars and leaders of the *Caliphate* who benefited from remaining under the British dominion were justifiably displeased with the contents of the dispatch. For this reason they did not assign it much importance and it was concealed until eventually it was forgotten.²⁵⁶

Perhaps the reason is a combination of all three. However, I will add, that the British were well aware of the prophecies of the *Shehu* concerning the *hijra* to the east. The British did demonstrate their displeasure with everyone who desired to leave with

²⁵⁵ It was on the 13th of Ramadhan of 1987 in the home of *Shaykh* Bello Abd'r-Raaziq ibn *Shaykh* Abd'l-Qaadir ibn al-Mustafa at about an hour before the *'isha* prayer that Allah blessed me by means of the persistent *baraka* of *Shehu* Uthman Dan Fuduye' and the abiding *karamaat* of his grandson, the erudite, mystic - *Shaykh* Abd'l-Qaadir ibn al-Mustafa, may Allah engulf them in His eternal mercy and compassion, Amen - to uncover this once lost manuscript.

²⁵⁶ I discussed these points in detail with one of my mentors from Maiurno, the professor Dr. Al-Amin Abu Manga. He augmented these ideas in his excellent work on the same manuscript in his "al-Asas 'l-Fiqhiyya Li *Hijra* Amir'l-Mu'mineen Attahiru al-Awwal Min Sokoto", *Diraasat Ifriqiyya*, No. 5, October 1989, pp. 22.

Attahiru. The dogged harassment which they made against him to stop his advance is a proof of that. Perhaps the British also knew about the existence of the Risaala and successfully destroyed any copies which they found in the towns and villages they conquered. This was in order that no traces of it would be among those who remained under their dominion. The motives for this are obvious. The British could not afford for any document being circulated which was critical of their rule or which gave legal basis for the people to remove themselves from under their jurisdiction. For how could the British rule a land without people? For this reason it would be expedient at all cost for the British to amass every copy of the document and have them destroyed in order to justify the pacifying of the conquered people. Perhaps this is the reason that no copy of the Risaala has surfaced among the archives, both public and private, of Northern Nigeria. It explains why I was able to find it among those who refused to surrender to the British and who eventually migrated and resettled along the Blue Nile in Mai Wurno. It was apart of the *karamaat* of the *Shehu* that the manuscript survived all these years in the home of Shaykh Bello Abd'r-Raaziq, the grandson of the famous Abd'l-Qadir ibn al-Mustafa (Dan Tafa!).

The affair of our *Shehu* begin with his inviting

To the door of Allah and the Prophet was his model!

Then he followed this with training, then *jihad*

He established it and obtained what was desired!

For our *jihad* is conditioned with *khilaafa*

Likewise emirate which are its representatives

This *khilaafa* is a captivating and subtle secret

Whose vestments are the *mahdiyya* - so take the good fortune!

It is no doubt that his affair is connected with the Awaited *Mahdi*

It was transmitted from the *Shehu's* words - so seize them O guided one!²⁵⁷



Three of the prominent scholars of Sokoto, Nigeria in the center the *Imam* of Masjid Uthman Dan Fuduye', *Shaykh* Modibo Muhammad al-Hajj known as *Mallam* Boiyi

²⁵⁷ Waziri Junayd ibn Muhammad al-Bukhari, Tuhfat 'l-Ikhwaan Bi Ba`ad Ma Li Shaykhinaa Uthman Min 'l-Karaamaat (the Gift to the Brethren Concerning Some of the Miracles of Our Shaykh Uthman), manus. f. 43.

II Conclusion:

The aim of this study was to examine the Risaala wa'n-Naseeha of Mudi Abdu in the light of the era of British imperialism. There were mainly two types of resistance in Africa against European imperialism. The first kind was called secondary resistance where African elements attempted to obtain their human rights by utilizing the terms of reference of the European colonizers. The second, which is the point of this study, was primary resistance against European imperialism. Primary resistance is the name given to Africa's opposition to European imperialism which revitalized its own terms of reference and utilized them as basis for resistance.

The best example of primary resistance to European imperialism was the response of the Sokoto *Caliphate* to British hegemony in Northern Nigeria. The Sokoto *Caliphate* began with the *hijra* of *Shehu* Uthman Dan Fuduye' and his Muslim community from under the jurisdiction of the Habe authorities of Hausaland in 1803. Shortly thereafter, the *jihad* between the two factions began. Because of the moral initiative and grassroots support which the *Shehu* enjoyed throughout Hausaland, he was able to subdue the Habe authorities within five years of the initial *hijra* of his community. Out of this victory was born the Sokoto *Caliphate*. *Shehu* Uthman was an erudite Muslim leader known for his personal austerity. Consequently, he was able to transmit his learning and moral force to his supporters, who demonstrated this diffusion of values through the functioning of the government. On the eve of his victory over the emirates of Hausaland, the *Shehu* is purported to have had a startling vision where he was shown the duration and demise of the Sokoto *Caliphate*. He was shown that his green flag would be a passport to victory for exactly one century. After which, would come the '*hour of the Christians*' where the Europeans would invade his kingdom and impose their way of government upon the Muslims. He informed his followers that the people would become divided as a result of the Europeans and that the only group which would succeed, would be those who made the *hijra* to the east in the direction of the Nile River. These eschatological beliefs were transmitted from generation to generation during the long history of the *Caliphate* and acted as vitalizing and mobilizing force of the first order preserving the *Caliphate* from internal strife and disintegration.

At the beginning of the 20th century, exactly 100 years after the establishment of the Sokoto *Caliphate*, the British came with their military and annexed the territories of Sokoto as a Protectorate. Thus, began the '*hour of the Christians*' foretold a century earlier by *Shehu* Uthman. The *Caliphate* was first divided and confused regarding the correct response to this threat. However, out of Adamawa there emerged, as a result of the British invasion of that region, a judge by the name of Mudi Abdu. Mudi Abdu composed a small concise work called Risaala wa'n-Naseeha ('A Letter of Sound Advice') wherein he discussed the legal responses to the Christians based upon the precedence of the Qur'an the *Sunna* and the consensus of the sunni scholars. He narrowed the responses down to three: *jihad* (war), *sulhi* (truce), or *hijra* (emigration) and stipulated the legal judgment and condition for each one. However, he concluded that the advanced weapons of the Europeans precluded a successful *jihad* against them; further, the truce (*sulhi*) was not valid because apart of its preconditions is that the Muslims remained under their own political jurisdiction and British colonialism prevented that; therefore the *hijra* (emigration) from Northern Nigeria became an

obligation upon every responsible Muslim.

The views expressed by Mudi Abdu were universally accepted by the officials of the Sokoto, including the *Caliph* who chose the *Risaala* as the official policy in dealing with the British and all Europeans. The British first conquered the southern emirates like Nupe, Ilorin, Kontagoro, and Adamawa and then moved towards the eastern and central emirates of Zaria, Gwandu, and Kano. Wherever the British went the Muslims would become divided into those remained behind and collaborated and those refused British control and emigrated to Sokoto. Finally in 1903, exactly one century after the prophecy of *Shehu* Uthman, the British attacked and conquered the town of Sokoto. The new *Caliph* Attahiru followed the same policy of *Caliph* Abdur Rahman regarding the *fatwa* of Mudi Abdu, and earnestly set out on the *hijra* to the east.

The British along with those who disobeyed the *Caliph* and refused to emigrate, appointed a ruler, Muhammad ibn Ali over Sokoto, whose authority was curtailed from being the absolute ruler of the *Caliphate* to being merely a regional Sultan of the province of Sokoto. In the mean time the legitimate *Caliph* Attahiru continued with the *hijra* towards the east, while his following grew exceedingly. He continued until he reached a town called Birni, where a fierce battle took place between the Muslims and the British. In this confrontation the *Caliph* was killed, but not before appointing his youngest son, Muhammad Bello Mai Wurno to lead the *hijra* towards the east as *Shehu* Uthman Dan Fuduye' had foretold.

Lugard, the leader of the British armies, promised those who had collaborated that he would not interfere with the religion of Islam. However, among the first edicts which Lugard established was separation of religious affairs from secular affairs.²⁵⁸ Once this was accepted, it was used as the cover to pass laws that were inimical to Islamic laws and customs and thereby weakening the religion in Northern Nigeria. The next effort used to undermine the promise he made not to interfere with the Islamic way of life, is that measures were taken gradually to suppress Arabic education. This was done first by Lugard bringing in a vociferous fundamentalist Christian, named Walter Miller, and placed him over organizing the elementary and secondary educational system for Northern Nigeria.²⁵⁹ He in turn had schools setup in all the regions of the Muslims. However, none of the Muslims would send their children to the schools. Lugard then ordered all the *Amirs* of the North to send their children to the schools.²⁶⁰ After this subterfuge, Lugard had Arabic language banned in the courts and Native Authority departments to the extent that in order to get a job in the Government Department, you had to have gone to their the Government schools. In 1904 Lugard announced the withdrawing of the recognition of *Shari`a* Courts in the North. Clearly the application of the legal exemplary punishments in Islam was detested by the British. Cases were to be heard only in courts established by the Protectorate by a warrant which delineated their jurisdiction, their powers and the maximum sentence they could enforce.²⁶¹ Ordinances were passed which stipulated that Native Courts were allowed to decide criminal cases according to native law and custom but were not allowed to inflict a punishment which

²⁵⁸ _ A.B. Mahmud, A Brief History of the Shari`a in the Defunct Northern Nigeria, (Jos University Press, 1988), p.5.

²⁵⁹ _ Mervyn Hiskett, p.220.

²⁶⁰ _ A.B. Mahmud, p.7.

²⁶¹ _ Ibid., p.9.

was in excess of the punishment provided by English law.²⁶²

It is clear from the above that the promise Lugard made to those who collaborated with the British on the grounds that the British would not interfere with the workings of the Islamic religion, was only a ploy. The British wanted nothing more than to destroy the Islamic religion and terminate its functional arm - which is the judiciary. It was for this reason that *Alkali Mudi Abdu* wrote in his *Risaala*:

"As for the terms of truce accompanied with: the European dominion over the Muslims how ever they wish; the displaying of their way of life in a conquering and vainglorious manner; the termination of the policies and judgments of the Muslims with regard to Islamic commands (*amran*) and prohibitions (*nahyan*); and their entering into any area of the Muslims lands they chose such as the Muslim's places of worship and their places of learning - all this is inconsistent with what is essentially obligatory upon the Muslims with regard to the preservation of the religion over and above worldly interest."²⁶³

It is no doubt that Mudi Abdu realized that the British would attack the judicial function of Islam, because this is where the real power and authority in Islam lay. *Alkali Mudi Abdu* had spent some 53 years first as an appeals judge, then as supreme judge in Adamawa. He single handedly reformed the judicial system of Adamawa which caused him to be recognized by the *Caliph Abdur Rahman* for the Supreme Justice of the *Caliphate*. When he composed the *Risaalat wa'n-Naseehat*, he had at his disposal 53 years of judicious consideration, therefore he knew exactly what the Europeans had in store for the Muslims. Their purpose was to try and put out the light of Islam by extinguishing the flame of the Islamic judiciary through the slow gradual process of assimilation of their law and customs.

"Like what we have openly witnessed in many of the countries which the Christians have conquered. This is regarding the above mentioned affliction of the gradual and unending destruction of the religion. Allah ta'ala says, "*And treachery never ceases to appear from them.*" And further, He says, "*The Jews and Christians will never be satisfied with you until you follow their way of life.*" Here the All Knowing, the Aware informs us that their sole ambition is to destroy the religion of Muhammad, may Allah bless him and grant him peace. Thus, fellowship with them and conclusion of truce with them will never make them satisfied with us. For this reason, if the terms of truce is made under the above conditions, then emigration (*hijra*) becomes obligatory by all means. This ruling is according to the consensus (*ijma'*) of the Muslims concerning the prohibition of Muslims residing under the sovereignty of the disbelievers."²⁶⁴

In the face of cultural conceit and social aggression; in the face of religious persecution and economic exploitation - the time honored tradition of *hijra* (emigration) as a prelude to *jihad* (struggle) has proven to be the most effective means of response. The Muslim warriors of the Bilad's-Sudan demonstrated this time and time again, for the

²⁶² Ibid., p.13.

²⁶³ Alkali Mudi Abdu, ff., 10-11.

²⁶⁴ Ibid., ff., 9-10.

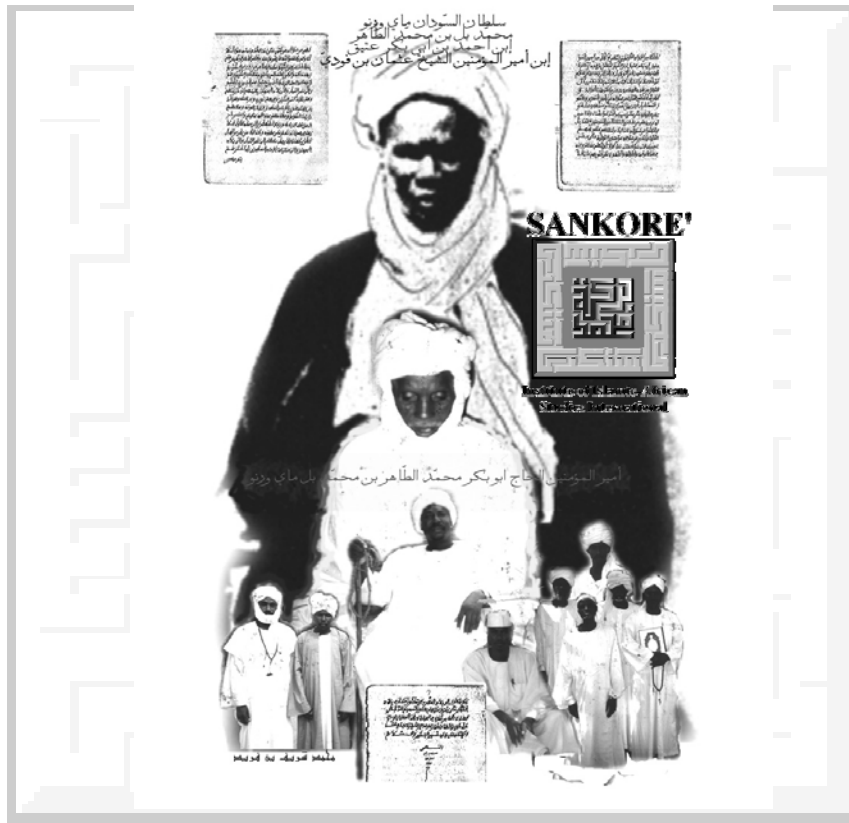
past eleven centuries. The *jihad* of *Shehu* Uthman Dan Fuduye' began with preaching, teaching and composing concise works on the sciences of the *deen*. Then his *jihad* emerged with the spearhead, the sword and the establishment of Islamic government until he conquered the whole of the central *bilad 's-Sudan*. He informed his *jama`at* that the *jihad* would not cease until it reached the Awaited *Mahdi* and his methodology of *tajdeed* (reformation) would be preserved until that time. He foretold the coming of the *Zaman 'n-Nasaara* (Hour of the Christians) which he said would begin 100 years after his first victory in 1803. In 1903, as he foretold, the British, French, Italian, Dutch and German *Nasaara* had taken full control of the Muslim lands of the *Bilad 's-Sudan*. Thus, marked the beginning of the *Zaman 'n-Nasaara* or the period of Christian political and economic colonialism.

However, the *jama`at* of *Shehu* Uthman Dan Fuduye' is alive and well and his influence upon the thoughts of Muslim activists around the world still holds sway. Whether it be the modernist *Salafiyya* movement, the *Muraabituun*, the Muslim student movements or the Iranian Islamic revolution - they have all been influenced in some fashion by the dynamic and charismatic *tajdeed* of the *Shehu*. The *Shehu*, like the *mujjaddid* of the first century *hijria*, *Caliph* Umar ibn Abd'l-'Azeez, established just, equitable Islamic government whose foundation were the Book of Allah and the *Sunna* of His Messenger. Like the *mujjaddid* of the fifth century *hijria*, Imam al-Ghazzali, the *Shehu* revived Islamic learning and renewed the *sunna* for community of Muhammad. Like the *mujjaddid* of the ninth century, Shaykh Jalaal 'd-Deen as-Suyuti, the *Shehu* composed innumerable works combining the sciences of the outward and the sciences of the inward by which the hearts of many have been opened and inspired. The *Shehu* transmitted to the succeeding generations an entire methodology of *tajdeed* based upon the Book of Allah and the *Sunna* of His Messenger. It has been this methodology which has assisted the people of the Sokoto *Caliphate* to survive the onslaught of the European Christians during the age of colonialism and neo-colonialism. The *Shehu* left behind twelve *Caliphs* after him who were prepared to encounter the inevitable day of the *zaman'n-nasaara* and to pass on to the succeeding generations after them the torch of *hijra /jihaad* and government in accordance with the Book of Allah and the *Sunna* of His Messenger, may Allah bless him and grant him peace. The persistence of this historical consciousness gave birth to a movement diametrically opposed to Eurocentric thinking and aspirations. This was finally exemplified in the valiant resistance of the scholar/warrior, the dauntless hero, the twelfth *Caliph* Muhammad Attahiru, may Allah reward him with the highest stations of Paradise.

The thirteen *Caliph*, Muhammad Bello Maiurno, taught us how to survive during this era of European materialism with dignity and honor. It was said that he never shook the hands of the Europeans. He showed then a smile but his heart held no love nor admiration for them. The fourteenth *Caliph*, Muhammad at-Taahir, lived to see the Day of Independence of the Republic of Sudan from British 'direct'/indirect rule and the resurgence of Islam the worldwide. *Caliph* Muhammad Bello ruled briefly for a year and passed the flag to his brother, the present *Caliph* and *Sultan* al-Hajj Abu Bakr ibn Muhammad at-Taahir - the Shade of Allah on Earth.

Uthman al-Fulani al-Sokoti, said in his *Tarikh 'l-Khilaafa'l-Uthmaniyya's-Sukutiyya* (The History of the Uthmani Sokoto *Caliphate*), "This Uthmani Fulani *khilaafa* will converge and meet with the Awaited *Imam* al-Mahdi in the End of Time...

the one about whom the Prophet, upon him be blessings and peace said, “*There will be khulafa after me. After the khulafa there will be amirs. And after the amirs there will be an oppressive monarchy. Then the Mahdi will appear from the people of my House. He will fill the earth with justice as it will have been filled with injustice.*” . . .His forces will spread throughout the regions of the earth and reach the furthest east and the furthest west. For him and his forces, Allah will cause to emerge the treasures of the earth. The *Mahdi* will execute and complete the last standing order of the Messenger of Allah, may Allah bless him and grant him peace to his *umma* - **TO EXECUTE THE JIHAD AGAINST THE EUROPEAN ROMANS AND OPEN THEIR GREATEST CITIES FOR THE SAKE OF ALLAH AND ISLAM!**



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Risaalat wa Naseehat

‘A Treatise and Good Advice’

By

Qadi al-Qudat Modibo Abdullahi Belle

Translated by

MUHAMMAD SHAREEF

Na'ib of Sultan al-Hajj Abu Bakr ibn Muhammad Tahir ibn
Muhammad Bello Maiurno ibn Muhammad Attahiru ibn Ahmad
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International



Folio 1 of the *ar-Risaalat wa'n-Naseehat* of *Alkali* Modibo Abdullahi Bellel, the Chief Judge of Yola, written in 1901, and rediscovered by the author, Muhammad Shareef in 1986 among the archives of *Shaykh* Bello ibn Abd'r-Raaziq ibn Uthman ibn Abd'l-Qadir ibn Mustafa ibn Muhammad at-Turudi in Maiurno, Sudan

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ar-Risaalat wa'n-Naseehat

In the name of Allah the Beneficent the Merciful. Peace and blessings of Allah be upon our master Muhammad and upon his Family and Companions.

This letter is:

A Treatise and Good Advice

To the Accountable People of This Time

(In View of What Has Befallen the Party of the Successful Muslims)

Realize! And may Allah make you and I successful at arriving at the that which is correct; with regard to what has transpired between the adherents among the People of Islam and the Europeans (*ar-Ruum*)²⁶⁵ accompanied by the remainder of the disbelievers, comes down to one of three matters. The first is to fight (*al-qitaal*). The second is the making of truce (*as-sulhi*). The third is emigration (*al-hijra*). And for each one there is a specific stipulation (*mahalun*) and definite legal ruling (*hukmun*). Pursuant to that, we have arranged this dispatch into three topics (*mubaahith*) aside from an introduction.



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²⁶⁵ _ Ar-Ruum: This terms refers to the Europeans in general. [see Bayan Wujuub al-Hijra p.58-9, Shaykh Uthman Dan Fodiyo].

Introduction

Concerning the Sincerity of Intention and The Renewing of Intention at All Times

It has been related by al-Bukhari²⁶⁶ and Muslim²⁶⁷ on the authority of Umar ibn al-Khataab that the Messenger of Allah, may Allah bless him and grant him peace said, "Actions are based upon intention. And everyone shall have but what he intends. Thus, he whose emigration was for Allah and his Messenger, then his emigration was for Allah and his Messenger. And he whose emigration was to achieve some worldly benefit or to take some women in marriage, then his emigration was for that which he emigrated".

The second admonition against people seeking legal advice (*istiftaa'u*) from anyone who claims that he has knowledge when it is not certain whether he is truly a god-fearing scholar (*aalim taqiyyu*) or not; is made clear by the following. It has been related upon the authority of Abdallah ibn Umar that the Messenger of Allah, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, said, " Truly Allah will not take away knowledge completely, snatching it away from his servants. Rather He will take away knowledge by the seizing of the scholars, until when no scholar shall remain. And then people will take ignorant ones as their leaders. They will then be questioned and they will give legal decisions without knowledge. Wherefore, they will have gone astray and will have led others astray". This was related by al-Bukhari and Muslim.

It has been related on the authority of Ziyaad²⁶⁸ ibn Judair, who said, "Umar once said to me, `The destruction of al-Islam will come from the errors of the learned men (*zallatu 'l-'aalim*), from the disputes of the hypocrites (*jidaalu'l-munaafiq*) about the Book of Allah and from the legal decisions of misguided leaders (*al-a'ima 'l-mudaleen*)". This was related by ad-Daarimi.

The sound elucidation that the *deen*²⁶⁹ along with its people will never be separated until the coming of the Hour is made plain by the following. The Messenger of Allah, may Allah bless him and grant peace, said, " There will always remain a group from among my Umma visibly establishing the truth (*dhaahireena `ala 'l-haqq*) until the command of Allah comes (meaning by that the Hour)". As it was elucidated in the tradition related by al-Bukhari and Muslim.

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²⁶⁶ _ AL-BUKHARI, Muhammad ibn Isma`il, (810 - 870). The most celebrated of all compilers of the traditions (hadeeth) of the Prophet. His collection is called al-Jami` as-Saheeh and it is considered by scholars to be the most reliable collection.

²⁶⁷ _ MUSLIM ibn al-Hajj an-Nisaburi, (817 - 875). Compiler of a major collection of Prophetic traditions called as-Saheeh al-Muslim.

²⁶⁸ Here ends folio 1.

²⁶⁹ _ DEEN: `means life-transaction' - it means a way of life. It derives from the Arabic word DAANA- `to contract a debt'; from which the word DAIN - `a debt' comes from. Some translate it as `religion' but this is not sound because a religion defines the relationship between a deity and man. However al-Islam is a way of life and a life transaction which defines man's relationship between himself and the Creator, himself and creation, and himself and his fellow men. For this reason there can never be a separation between the secular and the spiritual in Islamic societies.

The Ten Ranks of Those Who Claim to Fight for Allah's Cause and The Legal Judgement Concerning Them

I say, and success is from Allah, realize my brothers that with regard to fighting, the circumstances of the people in most cases are summarized into ten categories.

The first category is he who fights for the sake of Allah only. He is the one who intends by his struggle (*jihad*) to seek the approval of Allah with the aim of obtaining the merits of worship. And when he is commanded to do so, he does so without forestalling to get the reward for it in the Hereafter. For if he is martyred, then he is the highest of the martyrs (*a`ala as-shuhada'i*). It was related that in one of the military expeditions there was a young man who attacked the enemies right flank and defeated them. Then he charged the left flank and decimated them. He then assailed the center flank until his sword bent. He then said,

"Pleased with a good opinion of my Master
This is what we used to fervently desire from Him.
While the virgins of Paradise send upon us their greetings
Not for them did we fight, nor for them were we killed!
But it was to our Master we were yearning.
For He alone knows our secrets and what we reveal."

Then the young man fought until he was killed.

The second category is that he goes out to fight out of zeal for al-Islam and out of desire to make the word of Allah supreme and to humiliate the expressions of disbelief. There is no doubt concerning the soundness of this person's intention. He is a martyr (*shaheed*)²⁷⁰, as was related in the Prophetic tradition; " He who fights in order to make the word of Allah supreme, then he is in the Way of Allah".²⁷¹

The third category is that he intends by his struggle (*jihad*) the aim of Paradise and in order to be saved from the Fire, usually without him considering anything other than that. There is no doubt that the one given to this situation is a martyr if he is killed.

The fourth category is that the enemy comes upon someone suddenly. Then he is killed while facing the enemy, without ever showing them his back or without having any aim in that except to defend himself; he too then is a martyr. This is because whoever defends himself until he is killed is a martyr. As for the one who ran away (in as much as fleeing is forbidden), then if he is killed showing his enemy his back, he is not a martyr. Although in this world he may have the judgement of being a martyr. Likewise with the one who cheats in the matter of the spoils of war, he also is not a martyr in the Hereafter.

²⁷⁰ Here ends folio 2.

²⁷¹ _ The source for this hadeeth is in Saheeh al-Bukhari: narrated on the authority of Abu Musa al_ Ash`ari.

The fifth category is he who goes out in the *jihad* in order to increase the number of the *mujahidun* (those involved with the struggle) and his intention is only to kill not to be killed. Then that one is also a martyr if he is killed. As has been proven by the Prophetic traditions.

The sixth category is the one who struggles for the sake of Allah, while desiring to acquire the spoils of war, when his intention in the *jihad* was only to pounce upon the spoils. Like for example, he is summoned to raid a strong army which does not have spoils, he refuses to struggle against them. Or like if he is summoned to fight two contingents, one which possesses spoils while the other does not. Consequently, for the one in this situation there is a difference of opinion concerning him among our ancestors (*fih khilaaf baina as-sallaf*). [1] Some of them say that his intention is false because he allowed worldly aims to enter into actions of the Hereafter. [2] While others are of the opinion that his intention is sound and he is demonstrably in accordance with the intention of *jihad*. But they add that his reward is reduced from the point he began to have the objective in his heart for the spoils. And about this is what has been related in the Prophetic tradition; "Whoever fights to make the word of Allah supreme, then he is in the Way of Allah"; excluding by that those who only fought for the spoils. This is attributed to the fact that his first objective was for the spoils. And the proof for that is demonstrated by the Prophet, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, going out to capture the caravan of Abu Sufyan. This is because that was for the purpose of seeking permissible gain (*kasab halaal*).

The seventh category is he who struggles in order to obtain the goods of this world, without having in mind any specific aim of worship. This is in as much as if there appeared to him the chance to raid the disbelievers who have no spoils, he will not raid them. For that one if he is killed, he is not a martyr in the Hereafter. While his judgment in the outward is that he has the verdict of martyrdom. But there will absolutely be no Hereafter for him. In that there is no disagreement.

The eighth category is the one who struggles in order to be seen of men and in order to boast and for similar reasons. And it never dawns upon him that he is struggling in order to draw near to Allah. In so much as, wherever he is not seen or wherever praises is not expected, he will not struggle. Truly, that one if he is killed is not a martyr in the opinion of Allah without any disagreement (*bi laa khilaaf*). On the contrary, it is unanimously agreed that he has earned the Grievous Punishment.

The ninth category is the one who fights in order to be killed so as to be free from poverty, impending debts or worldly misfortunes that he expects to descend upon him, without it ever occurring to him the objective to draw near to Allah. For this one there is free range concerning him, based on what has been previously stipulated. For it is conceivable to say he is not a martyr; or it is reasonable to say that he is a martyr because of his not being considerate towards himself except in that situation. And Allah knows best.

The tenth category is that he is sincere in his intention, then there appears in him showing-off after commencing with the actions of *jihad*. Then in that case he has the reward for what proceeded before his showing-off.

May Allah provide us with sincerity (*al-ikhlaas*) in all matters. All of the above pertaining to the sincere ones was taken from *Mushari`i 'l-Ashwaaq* of Ahmad ibn Ibrahim ibn an-Nahas.

TOPIC ONE

Concerning the Obligations of Struggle (*wujuub 'l-jihad*)

The Qur'an:

Allah ta`ala says, "Warfare is ordained for you, though it is hateful to you; but perhaps you hate a thing which is good for you and you love a thing which is bad for you. Allah knows and you do not know."²⁷² Allah ta`ala says, "Slay the idolaters wherever you find them. And prepare for them every ambush. But if they repent and establish the prayer and pay the poor-due, then leave their way free."²⁷³ Allah ta`ala says, "Fight against those who have been given the scriptures as believe not in Allah nor in the Last Day, who do not forbid what Allah and His Messenger have forbidden and who do not embrace the true faith, until they pay the tribute out of hand and are utterly subdued."²⁷⁴

The Sunna:

The Messenger of Allah, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, said, "Jihad is obligatory upon you with an amir whether he is upright or corrupt." Once a man entered upon the Prophet and said, "O Messenger of Allah people are claiming that there is no fighting and that war and it's preparation has been put down!" He, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, replied, "They have lied! Now fighting has emerged and there will never cease to be a community from my *Umma* fighting for the sake of Allah until the appearance of the Hour. And they will not be harmed by those who oppose them. And war and it's preparation will not be put down until the appearance of *Juj* and *Majuj*."²⁷⁵ This was related by an-Nasa'i.²⁷⁶

The Consensus (*al-ijma`u*):

The scholars are unanimously agreed that fighting the unbelievers in their lands is a collective obligation (*fard 'l-kifaya*²⁷⁷) and some of them even say it is an individual obligation (*fard 'l-`ain*²⁷⁸). Al-Qurtubi²⁷⁹ said in his *tafsir*, "It is obligatory for the *Imam* to dispatch a brigade to carry out military expeditions against the enemy once every year. He should go out with them himself or with one who represents him. And they are to call the disbelievers to Islam, avert harming them and inform them about the religion of Allah

²⁷² Qur'an - 2: 216.

²⁷³ Qur'an - 9: 5

²⁷⁴ Qur'an - 9: 29.

²⁷⁵ Qur'an - 21: 95-96. "And it is forbidden for a village which we have destroyed that they not return. Until when *Juj* and *Majuj* are let loose and they shall break forth from every elevated place"; also referred to as Gog and Magog in earlier scriptures. The Messenger of Allah said that the release of *Juj* and *Majuj* will be one of the signs of the Hour. [see Tanbeeh al-Umma li Hujum Qarib Ashrat 's-Sa`a pp. 36-40, Shaykh Uthman Dan Fodiyo.

²⁷⁶ AL-NASA'I, Ahmad ibn Ali; (830 - 915) Compiler of a collection of hadeeth called *Kitaab as-Sunan*. This collection is one of the revered 'six sound' books of Prophetic tradition.

²⁷⁷ *Fard 'l-kifaya*: 'a collective obligation' - these are obligations which are not obligatory upon everyone to know. But they are those obligations which when one or more persons undertake them, relieves the burden from the rest.

²⁷⁸ *Fard 'l-`ain*: 'individual obligations' - these are obligations which are incumbent upon every mature, sane Muslim, like the prayer, zakat, fasting, hajj, etc..

²⁷⁹ AL-QURTUBI, Muhammad ibn Umar ibn Lubaba; (d. 926) Maliki jurist of Cordova, Andalusia (Spain) and leading mufti of his time.

until they enter into Islam or they pay the tribute (*jizya*).²⁸⁰ It is stipulated in the al-Mukhtasar²⁸¹ and in other books of jurisprudence (*fiqh*), "When the enemy makes a sudden attack upon a region of the Muslim people, then it is incumbent upon them to defend themselves. It then becomes an individual obligation upon every Muslim in that region, even if it is a woman."

Warning Against Neglecting the Jihaad

The Qur'an:

Allah ta`ala has threatened against abandoning the *jihad* by His words, "*If your fathers and sons, your brothers and wives, your tribes and the wealth you acquired, your merchandise which you fear there will be no sale and the dwellings you crave; are more precious to you than Allah and His Messenger and striving in His way, then wait until Allah brings about His command to pass.*"²⁸² Allah ta`ala says, "*What ails you that when it is said to you 'go forth in the way of Allah', you are bowed down to the earth with heaviness. Do you take pleasure in the life of this world rather than in the Hereafter?*"²⁸³ Allah ta`ala says, "*If you do not go forth he will afflict you with a painful chastisement and he will choose instead of you another people.*"²⁸⁴ Thus, the consideration of the threat of replacement is because of the lack of fighting. Al-Qurtubi said about the above verse, "This is a warning that forsaking the *jihad* and sluggishness towards it along with exhibiting dislike towards it is forbidden to everyone."

The Sunna:

The Messenger of Allah, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, threatened against abandoning the *jihad* by his words as is related by Abu Dawuud²⁸⁵, "When you began to pursue objects of material value (that is revenues), and when you take hold of the tail end of cattle (by herding), and when you become content with farming; and you abandon the *jihad*, Allah will inflict upon you humiliation and He will not remove it until you return to your *deen*."

This tradition means that when people become preoccupied with what he mentioned and they abandon the *jihad*, Allah will afflict them with their enemy. They will not be rescued from them until they return to that which is obligatory from *jihad*, establishing the *deen* and giving victory to Islam. And his neglecting the *jihad* and being self-possessed with this world is forsaking the *deen*. That by itself is enough as a grave sin." That is what the scholars have mentioned concerning the meaning of the above tradition.

It is stated in the *Mushari'u l-Ashwaq*, "The Messenger of Allah, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, said, "There is coming upon man a time during which some of the religious scholars will say, 'This is not a time of *jihad*'. Whoever comes upon that

²⁸⁰ _ Jizya: 'tribute' - a head tax imposed upon free non-Muslims and the People of the Book who reside under the jurisdiction of the Muslims.

²⁸¹ _ Al-Mukhtasar is the leading text of Maliki jurisprudence written by Khalil ibn Ihsaaq al-Jundi (d. 1369) a Maliki mufti of Cairo and teacher at the college called Shakhuniyya.

²⁸² _ Qur'an - 9: 24.

²⁸³ _ Qur'an - 9: 38.

²⁸⁴ _ Qur'an - 9: 39.

²⁸⁵ _ ABU DAWUUD, Sulaiman ibn al-Ash`ath as-Sijistani; (817-888) Compiler of a collection of hadeeth called *Kitaab as-Sunan*.

time, then know that the most blessed action during that time will be *jihad*." The Companions said, "Will someone say that, O Messenger of Allah?" He replied, "Yes! He whom Allah, His Angels and the people all together have cursed!"

It is also mentioned in the *Mushari'u l-Ashwaq*, "If the soul says to you, 'The fear of the death hinders me from the *jihad*'. Then say to it, 'Do you not believe in the words of Allah; *And Allah will delay no soul when its appointed time comes*'²⁸⁶. And also there is His words; *'Every soul must taste of death'*. Thus, in that case abstention from fighting will not extend the duration of life, and bravery will not cut it short. And even though death does have its torment, yet while being killed, the martyr will not find any pain except a pain resembling the sting of an ant."

And if you were to say, "I am afraid of the loss of my family, my wealth and children." Then, recall the words of the Exalted, "*Your wealth and your children are only a trial, whereas Allah, with Him is an immense reward*"²⁸⁷. And recall the words of the Messenger of Allah, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, "Truly an early morning departure in the way of Allah and a late return from it is better than the world and what is therein." Although all the above mentioned death will take place in the near future and the calamities of fate will separate you from (your children, wealth and friends). Then on the Day of Return, they will all flee from you. "*The day a person will flee from his brother.*"²⁸⁸ Each of them will desire to be saved, while you will left carrying the heavy burden that may destroy you. Will you then be saddened with parting from your friend, even though if sins are small or great still it fills you with anxiety and distress? And if they are great fills you with terror. And when your friend dies, your thoughts will leave him and his sons may or may not remember him. So realize that Allah is more compassionate to him than you. And if he is among the blissful, then Allah will not destroy him. Allah will gather you and him together in Paradise. So commend him to Allah's protection. And if he is among the damned, then he will be in a different state than the first. And there is then nothing you can do in warding off destruction from him.

If you were to say, "The separation from loved ones and brethren is unbearable for me". Then know, that separation only exist in this place and if love between you was for the sake of Allah, then the meeting place will be in Paradise. Otherwise, separation now is better, along with what comes from it, than alienation and want of fulfillment; because, in most cases, they are the companions of bliss and the enemies of calamities. If the King of Kings willed, your brother now will be your brother on that Day also.

If you were to say, "I fear the loss of my status, my high position of honor, my dwellings and my abode of protection." Then remember that there are ones who procured more than that which you acquired, nevertheless it eluded them. So also it will elude you.

If you were to say, "I desire the postponement of death in order to increase in righteous deeds." Then, know that is a lie from the nafs and it is from the deceptions of *Iblis*, since the *jihad* in the way of Allah is the best action. It has come down in the Prophetic tradition, "The standing of a man in the rank in the way of Allah is better for him than worshipping with his family for seventy years." So reflect upon this, O brother and understand!

²⁸⁶ - Qur'an - 6: 11.

²⁸⁷ - Qur'an - 3:175.

²⁸⁸ - Qur'an - 64: 15.

Realize, that no one has an excuse to abandon the *jihad*, and also there is no justification for forsaking the emigration (*hijra*); because the fear of separation from the homeland, the fear of loss of wealth, and the weakness of the dependents does not prevent one from the *hijra*. For if that be your defense, then it is only the excuse of a liar, clinging to humiliation and reliance upon false interpretation (*ta'wil baatil* ²⁸⁹). So abandon this world and Allah will suffice you with something better than it. For this world is not a place of abiding. Whenever its attainment is granted, its separation immediately follows. Its drink is only drink and its punishment is only punishment. For whoever craves after its attainments, falls into its snare. So arouse yourself before there falls upon you eternal damnation. And free your soul before it is afflicted by the difficulties of disengagement from this life.

Verily Allah says the truth and He guides to the right path. And the remainder of the laws concerning *jihad* are elaborated in the books of jurisprudence (*al-fiqh* ²⁹⁰).

TOPIC TWO

Concerning the Terms of Truce (*al-muhadinah*)

It is as Ibn Arafah ²⁹¹ said, " The terms of truce is 'the making of peace' (*al-musalahah*). It is the treaty of the Muslims with the belligerent (*al-harbiyu*) on peaceable terms (*al-musalahah*). That is, a truce for a limited term, wherein he (the belligerent) is not under the jurisdiction of al-Islam. However, this stipulation does not include the giving of protection (*al-aman*). For the bounds and conditions of giving protection are defending the life of the belligerent and defending him from enslavement and seizing of his wealth. That is, up until he initiates fighting or until he is wholly determined to settle under the jurisdiction of al-Islam for some time."

Therefore, if you have considered and understood the limits or boundaries of the terms of truce (*al-muhadinah*), then you have realized that it is a means of assuring peace wherein the Muslims can remain under the jurisdiction of al-Islam. When they perceive from themselves weakness, due to the strength of the disbelievers, then they should make peace with the disbelievers on terms of truce. This is in order to prepare for eventual fighting and in order to gather strength for the *jihad* countering the strength of the disbelievers. Thus, the terms of truce should be made on the condition that the Muslims not be under the jurisdiction of the disbelievers.

This is the reality of making peace (*al-musalaha*). I mean by that, an armistice wherein there is the endurance of al-Islam and the continuance of the Muslims under their own jurisdiction. This is the first motive for the terms of truce. Or that it is that the Muslims make a treaty with the disbelievers in order that some of the Muslims who

²⁸⁹ _ Ta'wil baatil - 'false interpretation'; the word ta'wil is mentioned in the Qur'an seventeen times. It has a positive and a negative connotation. In its positive meaning it means 'the reality of a thing, event or dream intended by Allah'. This reality can not be known except from Allah. In its negative mode ta'wil means any interpolation of hidden interpretation given based upon one's false opinion and ignorant speculation. To make ta'wil concerning any verse of the Qur'an or to give false ta'wil of a Prophetic tradition is forbidden.

²⁹⁰ _ *Al-Fiqh* - 'jurisprudence'; It takes its root from the verb '*faqaha*' which means 'to understand'. It is mentioned in the Qur'an twenty times. Al-Qur'an: "Why should not a contingent from every group go forth that they may apply themselves to obtain understanding (*liyatafaqahu*) in the deen." [9:22] The Sunna: "When Allah desires good for a slave he makes him understand (*yatafaqahu*) the deen." *Al-Faqih* (pl. *fuqaha*) is a jurist, one learned in the *shari'a*.

²⁹¹ _ IBN ARAFA, Muhammad ibn Muhammad al-Warghami; (1316-1401) Maliki jurist and mufti of Tunis. *al-Huduud al-Fiqhiyya*.

among the disbelievers can find a way to make *hijra* (emigrate). Or that it is that the Muslims may enter among the polytheist in order to teach them the religion of Allah and the laws of al-Islam. So that he that does not know the religion may know and so that whomever Allah has decreed for him al-Islam may become Muslim.

This class of term of truce was the essential motive for the treaty of Hudaibiya.²⁹² Likewise, al-Ubbi` said in his commentary upon Sahih Muslim²⁹³, "Some of the benefits of the brilliant treaty that occurred at al-Hudaibiya was the conquering of Mecca and the making of its people Muslim. For the people entered into the religion in large numbers because of it. For when the treaty occurred, some of the people began to fraternize with one another. And some of the people of Mecca visited the Prophet, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, and entered Medina. The Muslims, in turn, went to Mecca and the people heard from them of the reputation of the Messenger of Allah, may Allah bless him and grant him peace. As a result, they came to know, in detail, about some of his apparent miracles, the signs of his prophethood, and the perfection of his character. They also witnessed some of that themselves and their hearts became full with faith (*al-Iman*) and they believed. So what can be greater than these benefits. Which are the growth of Islam by strength and in number and the subsiding of disbelief and its decline until eventually falsehood perishes."

However, if the terms of truce (*al-muhadinah*) results in the opposite of the above, then no one among the scholars said that it was permitted. Like the terms of truce with the Christians in these times; because their offer of terms of truce will only amount to promote the diminishing of al-Islam and its people. This is the necessary result of the Christian Europeans entering among the people of al-Islam.

This will result in the Muslims being stamped with their destructive characteristics and blameworthy customs and the Muslims will eventually imitate the Europeans illicit way of life. This will go on until the weak hearted ones among the Muslims grow fond of their customs and become laden with corruption. Eventually, the youth will mature molded in the pattern of the European way of life. The women and children will become fascinated by them and began to dress themselves with their adornment until when the amply honored Sunna of the Prophet perishes and pitch black innovation (*bid`a`²⁹⁴*) is revived. This state of affairs will continue until their European way of life prevails and spreads. Thus, the Muslims become humiliated because of their

²⁹² _ HUDAYBIYA: a place on the road from Jeddah to Mecca just outside the restricted precincts of the House of Allah. In the sixth year of the *hijra*, the Messenger of Allah set out to perform the pilgrimage at Mecca with about one thousand men, unarmed and in pilgrimage dress (*ihraam*). The Meccans stopped the Muslims at Hudaibiya, and as a result, a treaty was arranged where the Muslims would be allowed to make the pilgrimage the following year. Mecca would be emptied for three days for the Muslim pilgrims. There were other stipulations of the treaty. That was the event which led to the 'oath of fealty' (*bay`at ar-ridwaan*).

²⁹³ _ AL-UBBI`, Muhammad ibn Khilfa alwastati; (d. 1424) Maliki jurist and traditionist of Tunis. His commentary upon the *Sahih Muslim* is called *Ikmal al-Ikmal*.

²⁹⁴ al-bid`a (innovation): There are three kinds of innovations. The first kind are those which the shari`a proves as being highly recommended (*manduub*) or as being obligatory (*wajib*) and which had not been done during the era of the early Muslim community. These kinds are good innovations (*bid`a hasana*). The second are those which the shari`a proves as being forbidden (*tahrim*) or disliked (*karaaaha*) and which had not been done during the era of the early Muslim community. These kinds are repulsive innovations (*bid`a qabeeha*). The third kind are those which the shari`a proves as being permissible (*ibaaha*) and which had not been done during the era of the early Muslim community. This kind is permissible innovation (*bid`a mubaaha*). In the author's context he is speaking of the revival of repulsive innovation (*bid`a qabeeha*) as a result of the Muslims surrendering to the government of the European Christians colonialists.

entering under the domination of the Christians. "TRULY WE BELONG TO ALLAH, AND TO HIM WE WILL RETURN!"

However, if one affirms the above while at the same time allows the permissibility (*al-jawaaz*) of making truce with the Europeans out of fear, due to the fact that their weapons are stronger in causing destruction than our weapons. Consequently, if the Muslims fight them, it will result in the complete extermination of all the Muslims.

Due to this, the permissibility of making truce is allowed, even though it leads to what is not permissible from the legal rulings which condition the truce. The reply to that is that the terms of truce with them under the above conditions will also result in the extermination and the complete destruction of al-Islam. Inasmuch, as the scent of al-Islam will no longer remain. Like what we have openly witnessed in many of the countries which the Christians have conquered. This is regarding the above mentioned affliction of the gradual and unending destruction of the religion. Allah ta`ala says, "*And treachery never ceases to appear from them.*"²⁹⁵ And further, He says, "*The Jews and Christians will never be satisfied with you until you follow their way of life.*"²⁹⁶ Here the All Knowing, the Aware informs us that their sole ambition is to destroy the religion of Muhammad, may Allah bless him and grant him peace. Thus, fellowship with them and conclusion of truce with them will never make them satisfied with us. For this reason, if the terms of truce is made under the above conditions, then emigration (*hijra*) becomes obligatory by all means. This ruling is according to the consensus (*ijma`*) of the Muslims concerning the prohibition of Muslims residing under the sovereignty of the disbelievers.

Shaykh Uthman dan Fodiyo said in his *Masa'il al-Muhimma*, "Emigration from the lands of disbelief, innovation and disobedience is obligatory according to consensus of opinion."²⁹⁷ Further, the terms of truce is only permissible under certain conditions. Among them are the settlement of armistice and the fixed duration (*al-muddah al-mahduuda*). Nonetheless, this does not permit maintaining the absence of combat between the Muslims of the idolaters. Nor does it authorize the discontinuance of the obligation, which is to fight (*al-qitaal*) as has been ordained for us as an obligation.

Just as al-Bahram said regarding what is in the book of *Shaykh* Muhammad, "Some oppressive tyrants desired from the *Amir* Abdullah ibn Harun, that he leave off fighting on the condition that they should give the *Amir* one hundred thousand golden dinars every year. Then the *Amir* consulted the Muslim jurist (*fuqaha*) concerning that. And they delivered to him a legal decision on the prohibition of that in order not to halt the *jihad*". Also among the conditions which allow the truce is that it must be free of false conditions (*shart al-faasid*), such as the residing of the Muslims under European domination, that the Europeans pronounce judgement between a Muslim and a disbeliever and the remaining of even a single Muslim village under the political authority of the Christians.

Therefore, be on your guard, my brothers, against what some of the students in these times of ours are inclined to permit the indefinite terms of peace. Their evidence for that being taken from what is in the books of jurisprudence, which permit truce unrestrictedly when their is fear (*al-khawf*). However, you must realize! The fear that is mentioned in the books of jurisprudence is fear of the extermination of al-Islam and its

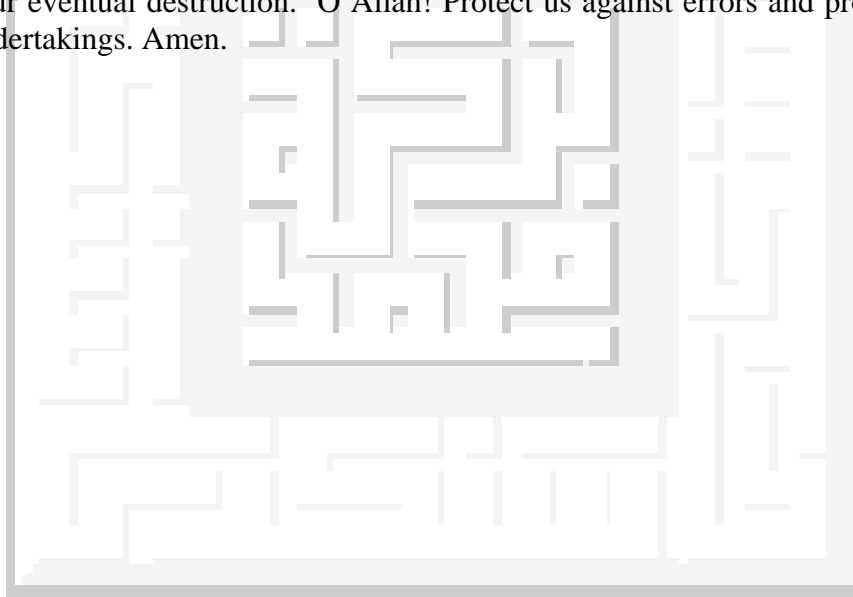
²⁹⁵ — Qur'an; 5:13.

²⁹⁶ — Qur'an;2:120.

²⁹⁷ — Uthman dan Fodiyo, *Masa'il al-Muhimma*, manuscript with the author, folio 4.

people. It is not fear for ones self and ones wealth that this truce is made. For how can fear for oneself and wealth be a justification at the time of the disgrace of al-Islam, when, "*Allah has purchased from the believers their selves and their wealth.*"²⁹⁸ How can this be so, when it is legally permissible to kill Muslims along with the idolaters, (out of fear for the extermination of al-Islam), when they are being used to shield the disbelievers?²⁹⁹

As for the terms of truce accompanied with: the European dominion over the Muslims how ever they wish; the displaying of their way of life in a conquering and vainglorious manner; the termination of the policies and judgments of the Muslims with regard to Islamic commands (*amran*) and prohibitions (*nahiyan*); and their entering into any area of the Muslims lands they chose such as the Muslim's places of worship and their places of learning - all this is inconsistent with what is essentially obligatory upon the Muslims with regard to the preservation of the religion over and above worldly interest. And I would add, that it is likewise obligatory to give preference to the preservation of the religion over he rest of the five universals, which are preservation of the soul, intellect, lineage and wealth.³⁰⁰ 'Truly to Allah we belong and to Him is our return', by virtue of the failure of our struggle. These false legal decisions (given without reliance upon sound judgment) are the foundations of the schemes of Satan, which is the root of our eventual destruction. O Allah! Protect us against errors and provide us with sound undertakings. Amen.



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²⁹⁸ – Qur'an; 9:111.

²⁹⁹ – Uthman dan Fodiyo, *Bayan Wujub al-Hijra*, trans. by F.H. el-Masri, (University of Khartoum Press, Khartoum), 1976, pp. 81-2.

³⁰⁰ – Uthman dan Fodiyo, p. 13.

TOPIC THREE

Concerning the Delineation of the Judgment of *Hijra* (Emigration)

Shaykh Uthman dan Fuduye` said in his *Bayan Wujub al-Hijra*, "Emigration from the lands of the disbelievers is an obligation according to the Book, the *sunna* and the Consensus.

The Qur'an:

As for the Book, there is the words of Allah ta`ala, '*Surely those whom the Angels cause to die, while they are wronging themselves, (to them), the Angels will say, 'In what circumstances were you'? They will say, 'We were oppressed in the land.'* (the Angels will say), '*But was not Allah's earth wide enough so that you might have emigrated in it'? As for such, their refuge shall be Hell. - an evil ending*'.³⁰¹ Al-Baydawi³⁰² said that in this verse is a conclusive proof of the obligation for emigration from a locality wherein it is not possible for a man to establish his religion. And in the *Takmila* (of as-Suyuti)³⁰³ it is said, 'His words, '*wronging themselves*' means, by remaining among the disbelievers and failing to emigrate'."

And al-Khazin said in his *al-Lubbab*³⁰⁴, "His words, '*wronging themselves*', means idolatry and it is said by remaining in the lands of idolatry". Al-Khazin also said concerning the words of Allah ta`ala, "*What ails you that have become two parties regarding the hypocrites, when Allah has cast them back to disbelief because of what they earned? Do you seek to guide him whom Allah has sent astray? He whom Allah sends astray, for him you cannot find a way. They long that you should disbelieve even as they disbelieved, that you may be upon a level equal with them. So do not choose friends from among them until they emigrate in the way of Allah. If they turn back (to enmity) then take them and kill them wherever you find them . . .*"³⁰⁵ The scholars have disagreed about the reasons of the revelation (*sabbab an-nuzuul*) of these verse. Some have said it was revealed concerning those who disputed during the Day of *Uhud*. While others said it was revealed concerning some people who emigrated to Medina and embraced Islam. Then they sought permission from the Messenger of Allah, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, to allow them to return back to Mecca to bring back their material goods in order to do trade. So they returned and they eventually resettled in Mecca. As a result the Muslims disputed concerning them. And al-Khazin also said concerning the words of Allah ta`ala, '*. . . until they emigrate in the Way of Allah . . .*', means to accept Islam and then emigrate." He further said concerning these above verses that, "In them is also prohibition of the believers to befriend the hypocrites." I say: Consider the words, "*. . . then take them and kill them. . .*", is to be understood as

³⁰¹ _ Qur'an; 4:97-8.

³⁰² _ The tafsir mentioned here is his *Anwar at-tanzil wa Asrar at-Ta'wil* (Cairo, 1925): AL-BAYDAWI, Abdullah ibn Umar; (d.1288): Shafi'i theologian and exegete, chief judge of *Shirazat-Tanzil wa Asrar at-Ta'wil*.

³⁰³ _ *At-Takmila* of Abdur Rahman as-Suyuti is the completion of the *tafsir* of Shaykh Muhammad al- Mahalli. The two books combined are called *Tafsir al-Jalalayn*.

³⁰⁴ _ Ali ibn Muhammad AL-KHAZIN al-Baghdadi, *Lubaab at-Ta'wil fi Ma`ana at-Tanzil*

³⁰⁵ _ Qur'an;4:88-9.

meaning permissibility of their blood and their wealth, if they refuge to emigrate. This is in accordance to one commentary of this verse.

The *Sunna*:

As for the sunna, there is the words of the Prophet, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, "Verily Allah is free of a Muslim who dwells among the idolaters." And by his words, "The fires of a believer should not be within sight of each other." The above traditions were related by Mukhtar al-Kunti³⁰⁶ in his *an-Nasiha al-Kafia*. And there is his words, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, "He who mixes or lives with a disbeliever is just like them." This was related by Abu Dawud on the authority of Samura.

The *Ijma`* (Consensus):

As for the consensus, al-Wansharisi³⁰⁷ has said in his *al-Mi`yar*, "Consensus upholds the obligation of emigration." In the *Bayan Wujub* it also said, "If you were to ask if the profession of al-islam of somebody who embraced it in the lands of disbelief, but did not emigrate, was valid or not. I would say, that the answer is as was given by an-Nafrawi³⁰⁸, "If disbelievers become Muslim, it is obligatory upon them to emigrate from the disbelievers, if they are in a place where they come under the governmental authority of the disbelievers. If they do not emigrate, they will then be disobedient to Allah and his Messenger; although their Islam will be valid." And al-Mazari³⁰⁹ sought to explain the judgment of the testimony of those and he outlined their legal status and more. So if you wish you can refer to that.

The Amir al-Mu'mineen Muhammad Bello³¹⁰ mentioned in his *Masa'il at-Taqtaha fi Mashari`a al-Ashwaq*, concerning that very issue, "Ar-Rafai, an-Nawawi and others said, 'If a Muslim is weak in the lands of disbelief and it is not possible for him to maintain his religion publicly, then it is forbidden for him to reside there. Hence, emigration to the lands of al-Islam is obligatory upon him. But if he is not able to do this, then he is excused until he is able to assert his religion publicly. Therefore, when he is able to assert the religion publicly in his territory in order that his people may become obedient to the commands of Allah, or if he has in that territory kinsfolk who will protect him along with the fact that he does not fear tribulations in his religion, then it is not obligatory upon him to make emigration. However, the first ruling is more precise.'" The author, (Muhammad Bello), said that the legal school of Ahmad ibn Hanbal³¹¹ is in agreement with all of the preceding. And an-Nafrawi said, "If he hopes for the

³⁰⁶ _ AL-KUNTI, Mukhtar ibn Ahmad al-Waafi; (1729-1811) Maliki scholar and sufi of the nomadic Kunta tribe of the Niger Bend.

³⁰⁷ _ AL-WANSHARISI, Ahmad ibn Yahya; (1430-1508). Maliki mufti of Fez and compiler of the major collection of legal decisions of the people of Andalusia, Maghrib and West Africa, called *al-Mi`yar al-Mughrib*.

³⁰⁸ _ AN-NAFRAWI, Ahmad ibn Gunaym,; (d. 1713) Maliki scholar of Egypt and commentator on the Risalat of al-Qayrawaani called *al-Fawaakihi ad-Diwaani*.

³⁰⁹ _ AL-MAZARI, Muhammad ibn Ali (1647-1728) Malik jurist of Scicillian origin who settled in al_ Mahdiyya, Tunisia.

³¹⁰ _ MUHAMMAD BELLO ibn Shaykh Uthman; (1780-1837) The second ruler of the Sokoto Islamic *Caliphate* and son of the famous Islamic reformer and scholar Uthman dan Fodiyo.

³¹¹ _ IBN HANBAL, Ahmad; (780-855) Theologian, jurist and traditionist of baghdad, compiler of the a massive collection of hadith called *al-Musnad*, whose views were codified by his disciples to become one of the four Sunni law schools.

appearance of Islam by his remaining there, then in that case it is better that he stay. And if he is able to refrain from forbidden things and remain secluded in the lands of war, then he must stay there. This is because his place where he particularly lives then becomes an abode of Islam, from which it is forbidden for him to emigrate."

The author al-Nawawi said that Abu Dawud has related on the authority of Samura ibn Jundub who said that the Messenger of Allah, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, said, "He who mixes or lives with a disbeliever is just like them." This was also related by at-Tabrani. And its words means that the Messenger of Allah, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, prohibited living among the disbelievers or mixing with them. He said, "He who lives with them or mixes with them is from them. He is not from among us." Then the author said that Ahmad ibn Hanbal related from Jundun, "Emigration will not cease as long as the *jihad* exist." At-Tabrani related on the authority of Khalid ibn Walid that the Messenger of Allah, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, dispatched him to the people of Khutham. They were a people observing the prostration. Then he (Khalid) fought them and killed some. So the Messenger of Allah, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, paid half of the blood price, then said, "I am free of any Muslim who resides among the idolaters."

I say: It is obligatory for every Muslim who possesses the smallest grain of *Iman* (faith) in his heart, that he stay clear of the suspicion that falls upon he who fails to emigrate. This is because the most docile of Allah's creatures are free of someone who resides with the disbelievers. We seek refuge with Allah from that.

If you were to say, "We have realized that hijra from the lands of the disbelievers and the innovators is obligatory according to consensus of opinion. But however, all the lands in these days have been filled with oppression in some cases and with open disbelief in others. Therefore, to where can hijra be lawfully made?" I would say: A sufficient answer to that is what is in the tradition narrated by al-Bukhari, which was related on the authority of Hudhaifa ibn al-Yamani from the Prophet, may Allah bless him and grant him peace. Hudhaifa said, "The people used to ask about the good, but I used to ask about the evil, out of fear of falling into it. I once said, 'O Messenger of Allah! Truly we were in the depths of ignorance and evil, then Allah ta'ala brought us this good, (referring to the Prophet). Will there be any evil after this good?' He, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, replied, 'Yes, but it will be tainted.' I asked, 'What will be its taint?' He replied, 'There will be some people who will guide others without real guidance. You will approve of some of their deeds and you will disapprove of others.' I asked, 'Will there be any evil after that good?' He replied, 'Yes, there will be some people standing at the gates of Hell inviting people to follow them. Whoever responds to their invitation, will be thrown into Hell.' I said, 'Describe them to us, O Messenger of Allah.' He said, 'They will be from our own people and will speak our language.' I then said, 'What do you command me to do if such a state happens in my lifetime?' He said, 'Hold to the *jama`at* (community) of the Muslims and their *Imam*.' I then said, 'What if there is no *jama`at* nor *Imam*?' He replied, 'Then avoid everyone of those sects even if you have to take hold of the trunk of a tree until death overtakes you like that.'" If you were to consider his words, ". . . then avoid everyone of those sects, even if you have to take hold of the trunk of a tree until death overtakes you like that. . .", you would certainly realize that making the *hijra* is not determined by there being an Islamic *jama`at* or an Islamic land in order to make the *hijra* to it; using this as an excuse

for abandoning the hijra. On the contrary, if a person is knowledgeable of all that it is responsible for him to know from the religion; or if there is one with him who is knowledgeable; then it is obligatory upon him to make the *hijra* from the lands of disbelief, trial and innovation to any place where in it is possible for him to establish his religion. Even if it is a remote place secluded from people, and even if he is alone in the earth and isolated, yet if he is a man of the sunna, then the vicinity in which he resides becomes a domain of the sunna. What will prove that, is the tradition related by al-Bukhari on the authority of Abu Sa'id al-Khudri, that the Messenger of Allah, may Allah bless him and grant him peace said, "There will come a time when the best property of the Muslim will be his sheep which he will take to the tops of the mountains and the places of rainfall so as to flee with his religion from strife and tribulation." There is also the tradition related by al-Bayhaqi regarding austerity (*zuhud*), narrated on the authority of Abu Hurayra from the Prophet, may Allah bless him and grant him peace who said, "A time is coming upon mankind when the religion of the pious man will not be safe except for him who escapes with it from high mountain to high mountain and from cave to cave."

I say: It is not mentioned in these above traditions to flee to a community. It explains that emigration is not nullified by the absence of a sunni community to which mankind can emigrate to. Have you not heard about the People of the Cave? They did not designate any specific community in order to establish their religion. Rather, they fled by themselves to wherever it was free for them to establish their religion. Allah mentions this when He says, "*And forsake them and that which they worship besides Allah. Then seek refuge in the cave. Your Lord will spread out His mercy for you.*"³¹² Have you not hear about Ibrahim, upon him be peace, when he emigrated (haajaru) from the lands of Nimrod? He did not designate any particular community. Have you not heard about the most praiseworthy friend (Muhammad), when he was put through trials in Mecca and then he emigrated saying, "I will journey through the earth of Allah in order to worship my Lord." For when he said that, he did not denote by that any specific community of land in order to establish the religion there. This was until the companion of the cave (Abu Bakr) answered him saying that he longed to be in the proximity of the Quraysh; as it has been established in the biographies of the Prophet. Finally, have you not heard that our *shaykh*, Uthman ibn Fodio³¹³ (may Allah inundate us with his blessings) when he emigrated from Degel? You should realize that he too did not designate any definite territory in which the sunna was established nor for a community like that. Rather, he removed his hand from under the jurisdiction of the disbelievers and proceeded under the government of Islam and its jurisdiction. Further, there is the words of Allah ta`ala regarding *hijra*, "*But is not Allah's earth spacious?*"³¹⁴ And there is His words, "He will find much refuge and abundance in the earth?"³¹⁵ All this proves that emigration (*hijra*) is for Allah alone, even with the absence of a community which would make it possible for him to establish his religion. This is because Allah is All Knowing, All Comprehensive by His knowledge of all things and locations. Glory be to Him.

³¹² _ Qur'an - 18:16

³¹³ _ IBN FODIO, Uthman ibn Muhammad ibn Uthman; (1754-1817) Mujaddid of the 19th century, jurist, traditionist, mufti and founder of the Sokoto Islamic Empire.

³¹⁴ _ Qur'an - 4:97

³¹⁵ _ Qur'an - 4:100

CONCLUSION

On the Legal Judgement of Fleeing (*al-firaar*) From the Disbelievers

In the Bayan Wujub al-Hijra of our shaykh Uthman ibn Fuduye` it is said, "Be it known, that fleeing from an advancing army is forbidden according to consensus of opinion." Then he said, "In the Qawanin³¹⁶ it is said, 'It is not permissible to abandon battle unless the disbelievers are more than double the number of the Muslims. What is taken into consideration here is the numerical strength of the enemy according to the accepted opinion. But it is said that physical strength is the thing to be considered. It is said that abandoning the battle is not permissible if the number of the Muslims reaches twelve-thousand, even if the number of the disbelievers exceed twice that. If the Muslims realize that they are certainly going to be killed, then it is better for them to withdraw. Especially, when they realize that there will be no effect in demoralizing the enemy - then in that case flight (*al-firaar*) is obligatory.'" Al-Kharashi³¹⁷ said, "When the number of the Muslims reach twelve-thousand, flight is forbidden. Even if the number of the disbelievers is more than twice the number of the Muslims; provided they (the Muslims) are united and equipped with weapons. If they are not united, then flight is permitted. This is also true if the enemy is in a place where they can get reinforcement, while the Muslims can get no reinforcements. If these points are taken into consideration when the numbers of the Muslims reach twelve-thousand, then they should also be taken into consideration when the number of the Muslims reaches half (of the number of the disbelievers) though still less than twelve-thousand.

In the Balagha as-Saalik Sharh Aqraba al-Masaalik of ad-Dariri³¹⁸, "It is permitted to dispatch a single Muslim man at the head of the troops. This permissibility is confined by two preconditions: [1] that he only intends to give victory to the religion of Allah and not to show off his bravery nor to aspire for the spoils; and [2] is that he realize that it is highly likely that any possible misfortune which he suffers will fall back upon the troops. If this two preconditions are not met, then it is not permissible (to dispatch a man at the head of the troops). Thus, if he dies in that state (while showing off and craving for the spoils), then will have died in disobedience, even though he is a martyr outwardly."

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³¹⁶ _ IBN JUZAYY, Muhammad ibn Ahmad al-Kalbi; (1294-1340) Maliki jurist and exegete of Granada: al-Qawanin al-Fiqhiyya.

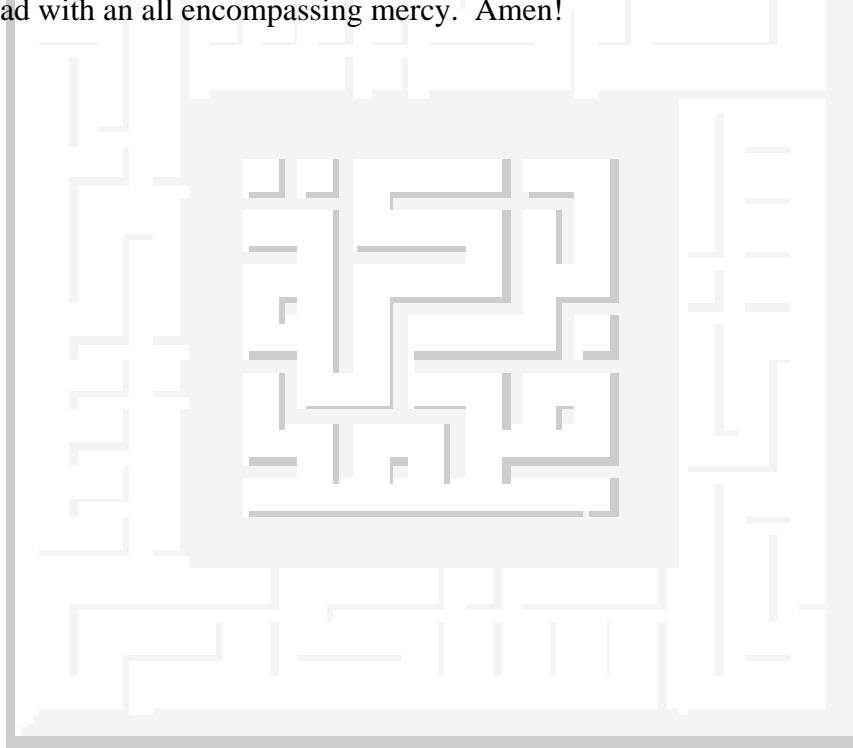
³¹⁷ _ AL-KHARASHI, Muhammad ibn Abdullah (d. 1689) Chief teacher and mufti of the Maliki school in Egypt: Sharh `Ala al-Mukhtar.

³¹⁸ _ This text is by Ahmad ibn Muhammad as-Saawi.

THE LEGAL JUDGEMENT (*al-fatwa*)

Therefore, if you have considered all the above, then realize that our emigration (*hijra*) is obligatory in these times because our fighting (*qitaal*) the Europeans will not bring any harm to them. Further, the terms of truce (*al-muhadinah*) is not permitted as we have said previously. Thus, the stipulation of flight (*al-firaar*) is in order to preserve Islam and the continuance of its people. This is because our continuance under these conditions (truce with the Europeans wherein we have not the means to defend ourselves and Islam against them) - would be the chief reason for the Europeans to exterminate Islam and its people.

O our Lord! Give us mercy from Your presence, and make our affairs easy. Here is the end. We seek refuge with Allah from deviation by the rank of Muhammad, may Allah bless him and grant him peace. O Allah! Be merciful to the community of Muhammad with an all encompassing mercy. Amen!



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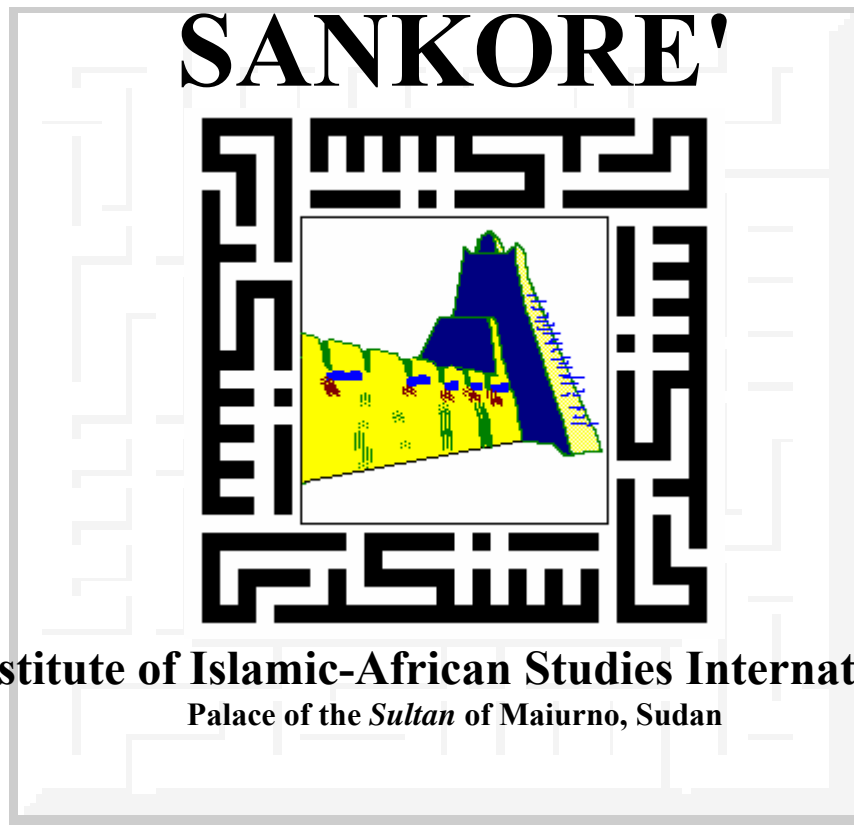
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